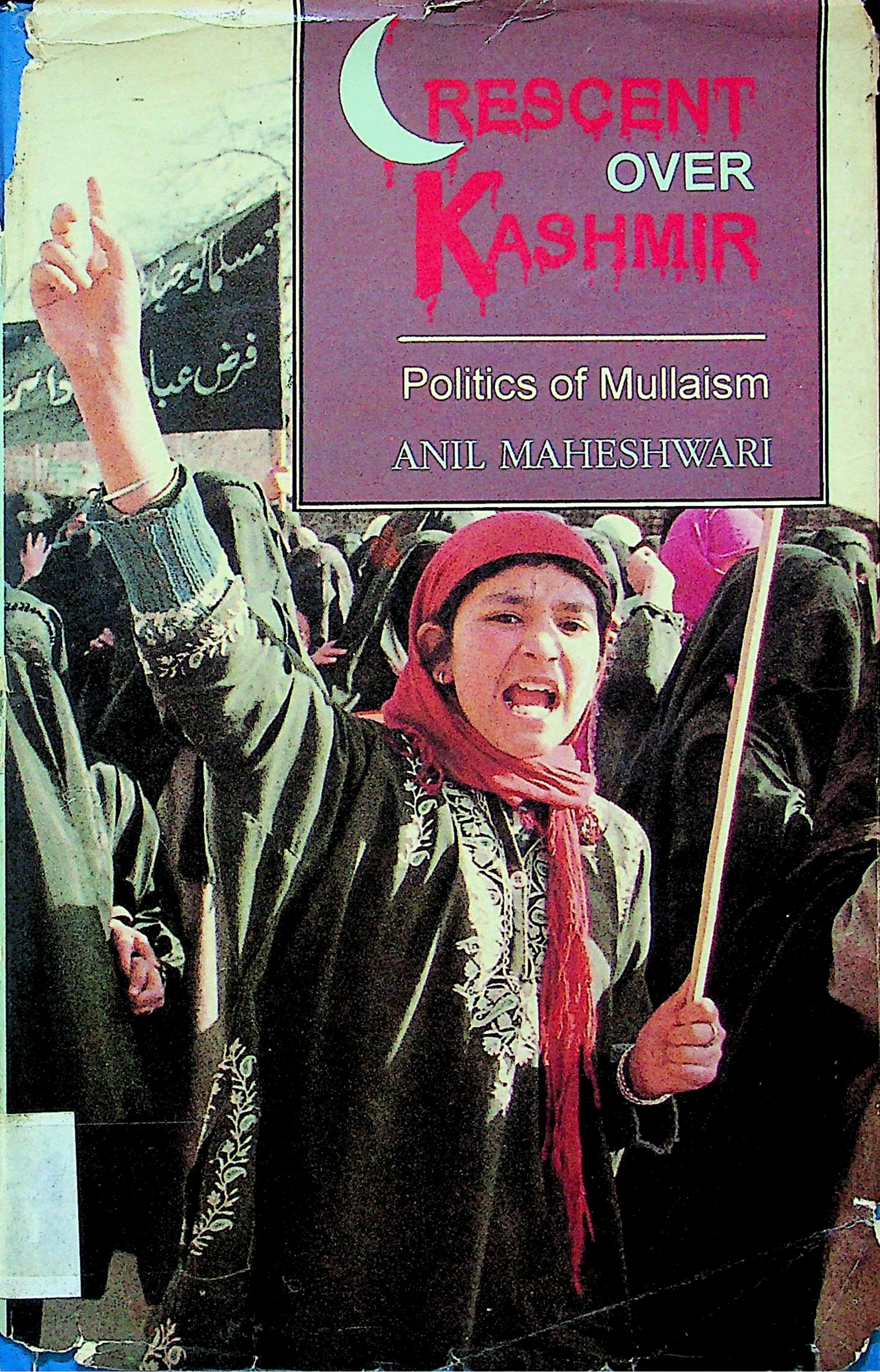
CRESCENT OVER KASHMIR

Politics of Mullaism

ANIL MAHESHWARI



The chup-chup of heart-shaped oars drowned in the rattle of machine-guns; the ballads of secularism gave way to cries of anguish and despair; the easy and welcoming smiles twisted into resentful snarls — this is the story of how the Valley of saffron turned a deeper shade of crimson, the 'Paradise on Earth' into a living hell.

This is the story of the

CRESCENT OVER KASHMIR

This is the story of *Jehad* — with Mullas as the leaders, in league with vested interests — looming large over the secular traditions of India.

This is the story of how the ineptness of the media, the impotence of the administrative machinery, the sheer treachery of power-hungry politicians and the over-zealousness of the human rights activists helped Kashmir come under the grip of Islamic fundamentalism. The lies, half truths and systematic disinformation injected into the veins of our public life proved to be a venom as deadly and poisonous as the Islamabad-induced terrorism.

Front Cover Photo © Sanjay Sharma
Back Cover Photo © N. Thyagarajan

Crescent over Kashmir

Crescent over Kashmir

Politics of Mullaism

Anil Maheshwari

Rupa . Co

An original Rupa Hardcover
First published 1993
Second impression 1993

Published by
Rupa & Co
7/16 Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi 110 002
15 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta 700 073
135 South Malaka, Allahabad 211 001
P. G. Solanki Path, Lamington Road, Bombay 400 007

Typeset in Times Roman 11/13 by
Print Line
S-343, Greater Kailash II
New Delhi 110 048

Printed in India by
Gopsons Papers Pvt Ltd
A-28 Sector IX
Noida 201 301

Rs 195

ISBN 81-7167-157-8

For

Naresh Mohan

Executive President, *The Hindustan Times Ltd.*

Who recognised the risks of front-line journalism and was the only one in the Indian newspaper industry to have insured his correspondent at Srinagar in 1990 and thereby set an example for others including editors.

Acknowledgement

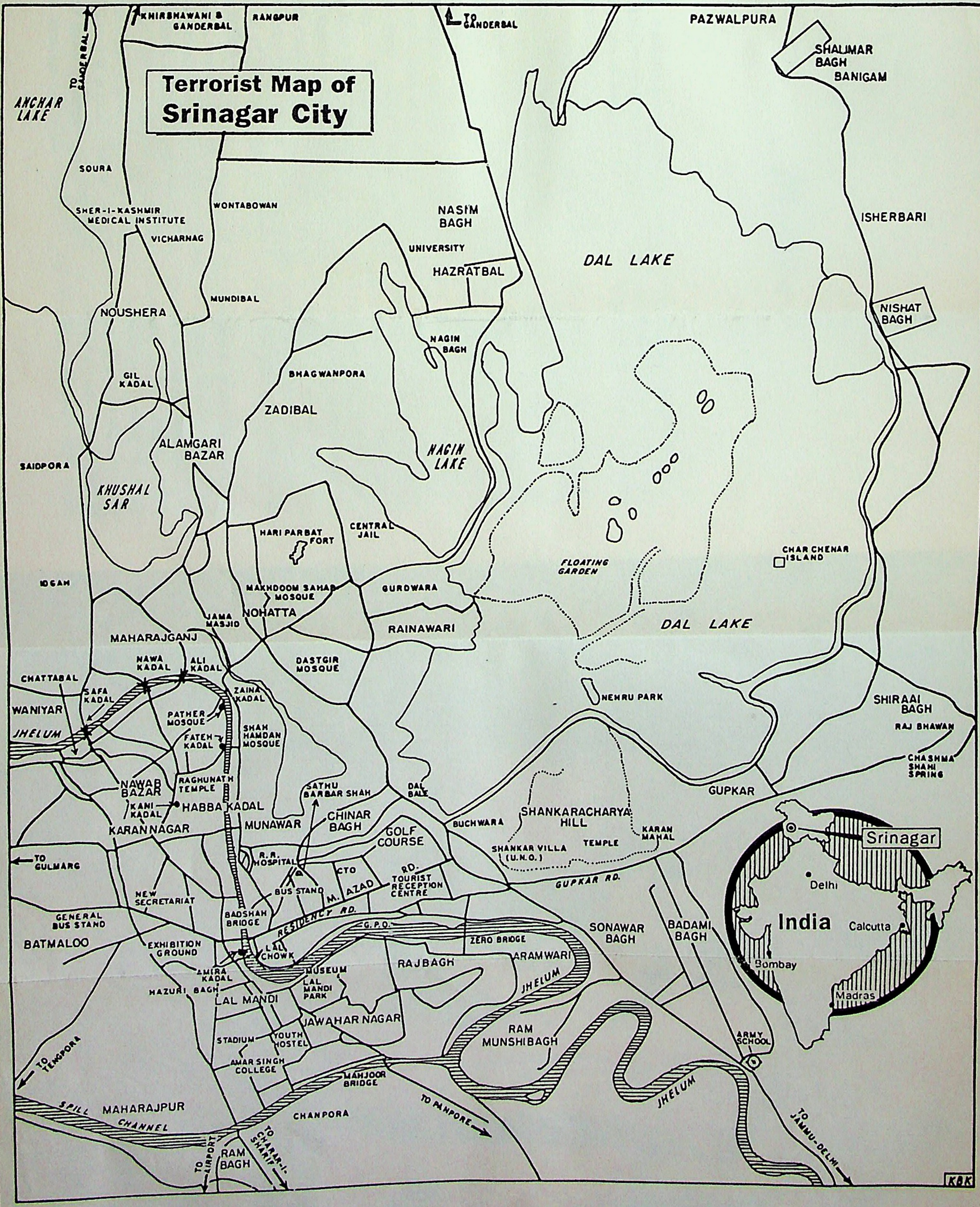
I am indebted to my friends and colleagues, Vijay Dutt, Senior Editor; R. K. Pathak, Joint News Editor; Deepak Joshi, Senior Sub-editor; Bula Bhowmick, Anjan Mitra, Staff Reporters; Chand Joshi, Special Correspondent; Wilson John, Staff Correspondent and Lokesh Bhargava, Chief Designer of *The Hindustan Times*; Y. S. Srivastava, Asstt. Editor and Arun Shungloo, Sub-editor of the *Evening News* ; Abid Shah, Chief Reporter, *The Statesman* ; Lt. Col. Kanti Swaroop Bhatnagar (Retd), Capt. S. K. Tikko (Retd) and Deepak Gupta, a computer consultant, who were kind enough to go through the manuscript and suggest valuable improvements.

I am equally grateful to my contemporaries at Srinagar — Ajay Mishra (*PTI*), Askari H. Zaidi (*The Times of India*) and George Joseph (*Indian Express*) who helped me understand Kashmir.

I will be failing in my duty if I fail to express my gratitude to K. V. Manian and Vijay Kumar of *The Hindustan Times* Reference Library without whose help this book would not have been in your hands.

Contents

Illustrations



Terrorist Map of Srinagar City
TO GANDERBAL
KHIRBHAWANI & GANDERBAL
RANGPUR
TO GANDERBAL
PAZWALPURA
SHALIMAR BAGH
BANIGAM
ANCHAR LAKE
SOURA
SHER-I-KASHMIR MEDICAL INSTITUTE
WONTABOWAN
VICHARNAG
NASIM BAGH
UNIVERSITY
HAZRATBAL
DAL LAKE
ISHERBARI
NISHAT BAGH
MUNDIBAL
NOUSHERA
NAGIN BAGH
BHAGWANPORA
ZADIBAL
GIL KADAL
ALAMGARI BAZAR
NAGIN LAKE
SAIDPORA
KHUSHAL SAR
HARI PARBAT FORT
CENTRAL JAIL
CHAR CHENAR ISLAND
FLOATING GARDEN
IDGAH
MAKHDOOM SAHAB MOSQUE
GURDWARA
NOHATTA
JAMA MASJID
RAINAWARI
DAL LAKE
MAHARAJGANJ
DASTGIR MOSQUE
NAWA KADAL
ALI KADAL
CHATTABAL
SAFA KADAL
ZAINA KADAL
NEHRU PARK
SHIRAAI BAGH
RAJ BHAWAN
WANIYAR
JHELUM
PATHER MOSQUE
FATEH KADAL
SHAH HAMDAN MOSQUE
CHASHMA SHAHI SPRING
NAWAB BAZAR
RAGHUNATH TEMPLE
SATHU BARBAR SHAH
DAL BALE
GUPKAR
KANI KADAL
HABBA KADAL
CHINAR BAGH
SHANKARACHARYA HILL
KARANNAGAR
MUNAWAR
GOLF COURSE
BUCHWARA
KARAN MAHAL
TEMPLE
Srinagar
TO GULMARG
R.R. HOSPITAL
CTO
RD.
SHANKAR VILLA (U.N.O.)
BUS STAND
M. AZAD
TOURIST RECEPTION CENTRE
GUPKAR RD.
Delhi
NEW SECRETARIAT
RESIDENCY RD.
G.P.O.
GENERAL BUS STAND
BADSHAH BRIDGE
SONAWAR BAGH
BADAMI BAGH
India
Calcutta
BATMALOO
EXHIBITION GROUND
LAL CHOWK
ZERO BRIDGE
ARAMWARI
AMIRA KADAL
MUSEUM
RAJBAGH
Bombay
HAZURI BAGH
LAL MANDI
LAL MANDI PARK
JHELUM
Madras
JAWAHAR NAGAR
RAM MUNSHIBAGH
STADIUM
YOUTH HOSTEL
ARMY SCHOOL
TO TENGPORA
AMAR SINGH COLLEGE
MAHJOOR BRIDGE
SPILL CHANNEL
MAHARAJPUR
TO PANPORE
JHELUM
CHANPORA
TO AIRPORT
TO CHARAR-I-SHARIF
RAM BAGH
TO JAMMU-DELHI
KBK

Preface

An island of secularism and a beacon-light to the benighted subcontinent was how Mahatma Gandhi described Kashmir at the time of partition of India. Now, the very same island of secularism has been invaded by Islamic fundamentalism.

The very same Valley of Kashmir is now in turmoil. Yes, it is. Only a democracy can provide an outlet to political grievances. Only a democracy can accommodate dissent . . . through talks, discussions and subsequent actions. But what if the other side does not believe in dialogues . . . does not believe either in an Opposition or in a representative Government . . . no, not even in democracy itself.

Kashmir, therefore, represents a major challenge not only to the nascent Indian democracy, but also to all democracies. How can a democracy confront a non-democratic system that uses democratic cliches — human rights, self-determination and *azadi* — to wit secession from India, while it itself flouts all democratic values? How can a democracy take on a *Jehad* that does not believe in democratic tenets but rather exploits them to the hilt for furthering its own vested interests? More so when the current phase of disruptive activities is aimed at the revival of Islamic fundamentalism through terrorism, and a sponsored one at that.

Lies, half-truths and systematic disinformation about the political situation and terrorist mayhem has been the order of the day. The Press and political activists are hostages to terrorists. Freedom of opinion, of dissent and of belief are unconditional hostages to their outfits. Their methods of propaganda are recognizably Nazi-like and Fascist. Their cry for *Azadi* is a mere facade for secession. A cry that robs men of even their basic Constitutional freedoms. No civilised society can withstand this concept of *azadi* where the non-Muslim minorities have been

hounded out, asked to change their vocations and ways of life . . . where even humane values are decreed as evil.

Terrorists cannot exist without media coverage. Most of local journalists, who also act as guides for the visiting ones, actively assist terrorists in carrying out their objectives. Terrorists, and their mentors across the border, weigh the potential impact of media coverage prior to their operations. And they then carry them out. Actions are designed to manipulate coverage by creating events and incidents that will hog the headlines, at times due to their great nuisance values, at others because of prevalent media practices. A type of manipulation that must be considered as victimisation of media making journalists unwilling and quite often unwitting accomplices in terrorism.

Reporting in Kashmir has almost become an ancillary activity for a majority of local journalists. Barring the Verghese Committee of the Press Council of India, the role of media in the Kashmir imbroglio has not been objectively examined in its empirical aspect.

The paradise on earth, as the Valley was described by Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan, is bleeding. Its saffron flowers spurt blood instead of fragrance. Legendary for its happy, carefree and smiling faces till 1989, Kashmir is now a valley full of visages scarred with wrinkles of tension and uncertainty. The paradise which beckoned people with the songs of its cascading streams, itself lies stunned by the sound of bullets and bombs.

Has an evil eye cast its spell over it? It is believed that if the elders would burn *isband* (aromatic seeds), the spell of the eye will break. Where have all the elders gone . . . Alas, the evil eye of Islamic fundamentalism has fissured the social fabric of society in the Valley and has not only threatened the age-old communal amity and traditional composite Kashmiri culture, but also posed a potent danger to Indian democracy.

Islamabadisation

Sponsored terrorism in Kashmir did not originate from thin air. Its seeds had sprouted there during the 22-year-long political existence of the Plebiscite Front that was formed way back in 1953. However, a phenomenal rise in secessionist youth politics came about following the 1964-movement on the issue of the holy relic of Hazratbal.

It was on December 27, 1963 when a mass upsurge erupted in Srinagar following the disclosure, a day earlier, that a sacred relic — the hair believed to have come from the head of Prophet Mohammad — had been stolen from the Hazratbal shrine, located on the periphery of the capital. The relic (the Moe-i-Muqaddas), kept in a small tube of glass and ritually exhibited only ten times a year, remaining locked in a wooden cupboard otherwise, had been sent to Kashmir by Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707). Its theft resulted in a public outcry in Srinagar. It was widely believed that Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad who had succeeded Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as the Prime Minister of Kashmir but had been forced to relinquish the chair a few months earlier was somehow involved in the outrage. As a result, cinema houses and other property belonging to Bakshi and the members of his family were set ablaze.

The relic was restored on January 3, 1964 as mysteriously as it was stolen a week before. But during the intervening period, wailing throngs

of about a lakh of people swirled through the snow-clad roads of Srinagar. The law and order machinery in the Valley was paralysed. Curfew was clamped over the summer capital. Throughout January, tension continued to mount in Srinagar as the mere announcement of the return of the Moe-i-Muqaddas failed to pacify the sentiments of the populace. Calm was restored only after a special verification ceremony was held to establish that what had been recovered was really the hair of the Prophet and not a susbstitute.

The incident of the missing relic brought back the mullas (Muslim clergy), after about five decades, to the centerstage of political activities and they succeeded in re-emerging as a force to reckon with in the State politics. And they continue to remain so even today. Priests joined hands with political leaders to organise what was called the Holy Relic Action Committee. They transformed the agitation into secessionist political platform. Even after the *holy relic crisis* had blown over, the committee was converted into the Action Committee which pursued a political campaign for the release of Sheikh Abdullah and calling for a plebiscite to sort out the Kashmir imbroglio. Pakistan eagerly extended its support to this committee which had already established liason with the Pak-occupied Kashmir (PoK). Besides moral support, Pakistan helped the committee with money and information gathered by its intelligence service which was active in the Valley.(1)

By mid-1965, however, the moderate leaders such as Maulana Masoodi, Maulana Noor-ud-Din and G. M. Kara had been sidelined and hawks took over the leadership of the Action Committee which by then had become a forum for disgruntled political leaders, mullas and fundamentalists. The Moe-i-Muqaddas crisis was followed by the release of Sheikh Abdullah who was once again arrested on May 8, 1965 following his virulent outbursts against India during his visits abroad including Pakistan. The Action Committee which was also known as the Awami Action Committee under the leadership of teenager Maulvi Farooq made attempts to mobilise the people of Kashmir by calling upon them to throng the streets demanding the release of Sheikh Abdullah and accession of the State with Pakistan though the Maulvi was a political rival of the Sheikh.

Capitalising on the opportunity, Pakistan evolved a plan to use the

Action Committee for spearheading an anti-India revolt in the Valley. Eighteen years after the first invasion of Kashmir, Pakistan launched its second one in 1965, known as "Operation Gibraltar".

The name selected for the operation, Gibraltar, is in itself instructive, since it clearly referred to 'Tariq', the nom de guerre adopted in 1947 (at the time of the first invasion of Kashmir by Pakistan) after the Arab conqueror, after whom Gibraltar is in fact named. The Planning for the Operation Gibraltar may well have started as early as 1964, not long after the Moe-i-Muqaddas crisis. A number of training camps were eventually established, mainly in Azad Kashmir (Pak-occupied Kashmir) and in Punjab. Volunteers were recruited from the Pakistan Army as well as from Kashmiris in Azad Kashmir and elsewhere in Pakistan. The first batch of 'mujahideen', it would seem, began to cross the cease-fire line in small groups during the winter of 1964-65. The tempo of infiltration increased during the first half of 1965 and reached its climax in July and August that year. (2)

The whole scheme of the Gibraltar and its associated operations nevertheless suffered from a number of serious flaws. First, the Kashmiri population on the Indian side of the cease-fire line was not prepared to rise up in open rebellion. Demonstrations over Islamic issues, as in the case of the missing Moe-i-Muqaddas, were one thing and taking on the Indian Army quite another. (3) It also detested the non-Kashmiri speaking infiltrators and was afraid of losing its identity.

Early in August 1965, the second phase of the plan — referred to as "Operation Malta" by the Indian intelligence — began to be implemented. It took off well. Press reports made it clear that a serious campaign of sabotage and ambush was now going on in the State of Jammu & Kashmir. Bridges were being blown up and police stations attacked. Shots were fired in Srinagar itself. All this, the Pakistan Government declared, demonstrated that a state of rebellion existed across the cease-fire line. And, on August 8, the *Voice of Kashmir* radio went on the air to announce the formation of a Kashmir Revolutionary Council to lead a war of liberation from "Indian oppression". The Indian Government denied any rebellion. It blamed the troubles on Pakistan, which had been fuelling the troubles by dispatching infiltrators, many of whom had been identified as regular Pakistani Army officers. (4)

The hostilities between the two countries erupted into a full-scale war on September 6. It was only after eighteen days that a cease-fire was announced on the intervention of the United Nations. In the process, Pakistan was badly mauled. The guerrilla movement launched by Pakistan failed in the Valley because the infiltrators were not Kashmiris. (5) However, the misfired guerrilla adventure by Pakistan had its impact on the restless youth of Kashmir. It infected them with pseudo-rebellious romanticism that lead to terrorism, intimidation, explosions and assassination. The trend trickled down to the young, the ill-educated, the lumpen-proletarians and the pseudo-intellectuals.

A senior Army commander told his officers in Srinagar, as early as August 1965, that the next phase of the Kashmir struggle would not be against organised power but routed via murder and terrorism. Subsequent events proved his observation prophetic.

Though these attempts by Pakistan failed initially, the discernible fillip they had given to secessionist activities, particularly among youngsters was undeniable. Notwithstanding the defeat, the Pak-abetted secessionism continued. Under the patronage of Mirza Afzal Beg, founder of the Plebiscite Front and a close associate of Sheikh Abdullah, pro-secessionist youth organisations flourished but mutual bickerings soon overtook them.

In 1967 a major incident of terrorism was recorded in the State when some young men were arrested for allegedly attempting to murder a jawan of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) in the Nawa Kadal area in downtown Srinagar. They were tried in camera before a special court. The case which later came to be known as the Nawa Kadal Conspiracy Case, was, however, withdrawn in 1975 when Sheikh Abdullah once again took over the reins of the Government.

The fragmentation of youth organisations and their multiplicity infused an element of militancy in a majority of them. In 1968, a group of young men from Gandhi Memorial College decided to start an armed struggle in the State. They crept into the Islamia College premises in the dead of night and tried to steal rifles from a room where the National Cadet Corps stored its armoury. However, the watch-man of the college grappled with the intruders and nabbed one of them. Eight persons were arrested. They were also tried in camera. This case, known as the Islamia

College Conspiracy Case, however, provided an opportunity to Mirza Afzal Beg, president of the Plebiscite Front, to earn some political mileage by espousing the cause of the arrested young men. This case too was withdrawn with the return of Sheikh Abdullah to power in 1975.

A group of intellectuals, mostly teachers, were also arrested in 1967 for having established links with Mohammad Maqbool Butt — the founder of the Kashmir Liberation Front — who had been arrested for the murder of Amar Chand Pandit, an officer of the intelligence wing of the State Police, in the border district of Baramulla. Later, Butt was hanged in Delhi's Tihar Jail. This band of teachers was considered the 'core group' of the Kashmir Liberation Front. The members of this group were detained under the Defence of India Rules and the Preventive Detention Act. They were released after a couple of years. Almost all, but for a small hard-core, bade adieu to politics and resumed their respective professions. Some of them, however, formed educational societies or social organisations to give vent to their thoughts and feelings.

It was in January 1971 that the authorities unearthed a gang of subversives who had planned large-scale subversion in the State. The organisation behind the subversive activities was identified as "Al Fateh" which emerged as a well-organised and close-knit militant organisation with a plan to 'liberate Kashmir by resorting to armed struggle'. During the night of January 8, about 350 leaders and supporters of the Plebiscite Front were arrested under the Preventive Detention Act. The evidence showed them deeply involved in the subversive activities under the aegis of the Al Fateh. On January 25, the First Secretary of the Pakistan High Commission in Delhi, Zafar Iqbal Rathore, was declared a persona non gratta as he was found involved in the activities of the Al Fateh. The police stated that the Al Fateh had been formed way back in 1968 as part of the sustained Pakistani campaign to destabilise the State. Pakistan supplied it with arms and explosives and supervised its training. It was in touch with various movements in the State, particularly student organisations and the Plebiscite Front. It looted banks and raided Government offices and planned not only the kidnapping of at least two ministers, but also the assassination of the State Chief Minister, G.M.Sadiq.

In the meantime, Sheikh Abdullah, Mirza Afzal Beg and G.M.Shah, son-in-law of the Sheikh, were served with externment orders, forbidding them from visiting the State of Jammu & Kashmir for three months. After about three weeks of the mass arrest of Al Fateh activists, on January 30, 1971 at 1305 hours an Indian aeroplane, Fokker Friendship (F 27) VT-DMM belonging to the Indian Airlines and named *Ganga*, en route from Srinagar to Jammu, landed at Lahore airport under the control of two hijackers — young Kashmiris, who were apparently armed with a hand grenade and a pistol. The aircraft carried, apart from the crew (four in all including its Captain), 26 passengers. The two hijackers, through a local spokesman, demanded that they be granted asylum in Pakistan; that the Government of India release 36 political prisoners said to be members of the Kashmir Liberation Front, and further, that New Delhi guarantee that the families of the two hijackers in Kashmir would in no way be harmed.

The crew and passengers of *Ganga* returned to India by road via Amritsar on February 1 as an Indian aircraft was not allowed landing facilities by the Pak authorities to bring them back. India demanded the immediate return of *Ganga*, which had been parked in a remote corner of Lahore airport. But one of the hijackers managed to set fire to the aircraft. The landing of *Ganga* caused mass enthusiasm in Lahore. Big crowds converged at the airport to see the hijacked plane. The two hijackers were treated as national heroes. On January 31, Z.A. Bhutto visited the airport and embraced the two hijackers as true champions of the Pakistani cause. After five days, he issued a statement to the effect that the hijackers were "two brave men" and their deed demonstrated that "no power on earth can stifle the Kashmiris' struggle for liberation." The Pak authorities justified the hijacking which they described as the direct result of repressive measures taken by the Government of India in Kashmir.

Investigations into the incident by the Pak authorities, including a commission of inquiry headed by Justice Noor-ul-Arfin, concluded that India had a great deal to do with this strange episode. It was cited that G.M.Sadiq, the Chief Minister of Jammu & Kashmir, himself on February 2 had stated publicly that the whole hijacking episode was an Indian plot and one of the two hijackers was an agent of Indian intel-

ligence. So the question remains why after two days of such announcement by Sadiq, Z.A. Bhutto hailed the action of 'the two brave men'. In fact, an Indian news agency, UNI, had flashed the story of the involvement of an Indian intelligence agent in the hijacking on the very day it occured. Even that foreknowledge did not, however, dampen the spirit of enthusiasts at Lahore.

Alastair Lamb, the most steadfast supporter of the Pak stand and action in Kashmir, states that, "When the *Ganga* landed at Lahore airport on January 30, the local Pakistan police were extremely suspicious about the two hijackers. For one thing, it was discovered that they were armed with toy weapons which were anything but lethal (the hand grenade was made of wood). For another, it appeared that the passengers were either Indian service personnel in 'Mufti' or their families. Finally, it transpired that the aircraft in question was the oldest of its type in the fleet of the Indian Airlines, was in a poor state of maintenance and lacked certain items of equipment usually carried on such aircraft." How absurd an inference!

A lull in terrorist activities was recorded following the 14-day war between India and Pakistan in December 1971 in which the latter had to suffer a humiliating defeat and the bifurcation of Pakistan ensued, giving birth to a new nation called Bangladesh which had hitherto been known as East Pakistan. Terrorists, coupled with fundamentalist forces who preferred to lie low, however, lost no opportunity to vent their pent-up anti-India feelings.

A typical example was the violence in May 1973. A publication, *Arthur Mee's Book of Knowledge: Children's Encyclopedia*, was discovered in a college library in Anantnag shortly before May 17 in 1973. It was a work of monumental blandness, which did, however, contain a drawing of Prophet Mohammad to whom the Archangel Gabriel was dictating portions of the holy Quran. Somehow this came to be noticed by the obscurantists who were out to point out that such representation constituted blasphemy. Students in Anantnag held a demonstration on May 17 in protest against the authorities for permitting this obnoxious publication. The State Governement lost no time in banning the book, but it was too late. By May 20, the trouble had spread to Srinagar where a wave of strikes and students marches broke out (in which placards

demanding 'hang the author' were displayed). Other expressions of public outrage broke out against both India (which was alleged to have permitted the import of the publication) and the U. K. (which was held responsible for its existence in the first place). All shops were forcibly closed. Public transport was brought to a halt. An attempt was made to burn down the branch of the Lloyd's Bank (which later merged with the Grindlays Bank) at the Bund, owned by the British. A church of the North Church of India (Diocese of Amritsar) at Sonawar was torched. Another church near Cantonment was threatened. The police opened fire on demonstrators and there were a number of deaths. The book in question had been acquired by a missionary school in Anantnag way back in 1911 which then had found its way to the college library where it had languished in anonymity for decades.

Syed Mir Qasim had been sworn in as the Chief Minister of the State following the death of G.M.Sadiq in December 1971. In his memoirs, Qasim mentions: "A number of Al Fateh members were arrested in Srinagar and put on trial on January 10, 1972. I was under pressure from the parents of the arrested youths to give a humanitarian consideration to their case. When I studied their case histories, I was upset at the kind of crimes they had committed. I was after all a father and, therefore, could not take refuge under the cold crime-and-punishment principle. I told the State Assembly on March 25, 1972, 'I can swear that I suffer the same pain as do the parents of these young people. It is not the fault of these youths; but it is the responsibility of those institutions and practices which were not constructive.'

"An exemplary punishment would do no good either to society or to these young people. I, therefore, wanted to reform them. I called the DIG, Kashmir Police, to explain my stand on this matter. We released the youths, whose crimes were minor, and sent the rest to the Central Prison in Srinagar, where special care was given to their health and education. They were given all the facilities to prepare themselves for school or university examination. Kashmir University and the Board of School Education were instructed to make arrangements for holding examinations in the prison. Science students were taken to the laboratory of the S. P. College, Srinagar, for Practicals. I am happy to say that this policy brought a positive revolution in the lives of the condemned youths. The

Director General of Police, Pir Ghulam Hasan Shah, played a remarkable role in the mission."

Mohammad Altaf Khan alias Azam Inquilabi, one of the prominent terrorist leaders during the current phase of terrorism, was also a member of the Al Fateh. Meanwhile, the Al Fateh saw itself divided into two hostile groups, one owing allegiance to the leaders of the Plebiscite Front while the other was against Sheikh Abdullah. This organisation was also more or less wound up after the Kashmir Accord in 1975 between Mirza Afzal Beg, the representataive of Sheikh Abdullah, and G. Parthasarthy, the representative of Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India. The accord saw Qasim resigning to pave the way for Sheikh Abdullah's return as the Chief Minister of the State.

Meanwhile, the People's League, a new secessionist, organisation emerged on the scene. Basically an anti-accession organisation, it opposed the Kashmir Accord. However, it soon split into two groups, one striving for an Islamic state while the other demanding an Islamic Socialist state, a concept coined by Z.A.Bhutto. Azam Inquilabi had already left the League in 1974 to form Islamic Students and Youth Organisation which was later rechristened as the Islamic Jamiat-e-Tulba.

The 1977 Assembly elections, described unanimously by the observers as free and fair for the first time in the State, gave a jolt to the pro-Pak youth movement. The influence of the People's League remained restricted to only a handful of hard-core leaders such as Farooq Rehmani. In the meantime, Azam Inquilabi found his way on the payrolls of the Government as a teacher.

After the death of Sheikh Abdullah in 1982, his son, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, inherited the mantle. The secessionist groups resumed their activities. Dr. Farooq, who was considered a moderate, tried to drive home the fact that he was bold enough to take on the Centre, whereas the political minions within the State were no match for him. He attempted to meet the challenge of the Jamaat-e-Islami (Jamaat) by haranguing that he, too, could talk about "saving Muslims" in the same vein as Jamaat leaders did in their political utterances. It was plainly a question of one-upmanship in the vote-catching game. And,since it was election time, victory was very important to him personally. (7)

The hustings ensued. The Congress (I) and the National Conference

locked horns with each other. In mid-1983 Indira Gandhi came to Srinagar to address election rallies of the Congress (I). The Iqbal Park in Srinagar was jampacked with people. After the addresses were delivered by the State leaders, Mrs. Gandhi rose to speak. As she began, she was somewhat taken aback by what she saw. Looking straight ahead across the *pandal* she saw some young men in the nude. However, she continued with her address, and said: "There is such stark poverty here that there are people who have not even enough to wear. That is why some of them are going about stark naked."(8)

A mob shouting pro-National Conference slogans went on the rampage in Srinagar on May 19,1983, stoned the State Congress (I) headquarters and later set it ablaze. The top floor of the building was gutted. About fifty Congressmen including Mohd. Shafi Qureshi, former Union Minister were injured. The mob entered the Congress office, smashed furniture and destroyed the party's election material. Two of the three vehicles were also whisked away. The violence was reminiscent of the 1977 Assembly elections when the National Conference supporters raided the office of the Janata Dal after electioneering and damaged it.

The National Conference, led by Dr.Farooq Abdullah, emerged victorious in the elections. Dr. Farooq was sworn in the Chief Minister. Immediately after the 1983 elections, which supporters of the Congress (I) maintained had been rigged against them, there were riots in Srinagar. A 24-hour curfew was clamped following the injury of hundreds of people in clashes between the supporters of the National Conference and their opponents.

In October 1983, during a cricket match in Srinagar between India and the visiting West Indies, garbage was hurled on to the pitch and a section of the crowd, evidently representing powerful Muslim feelings, chanted anti-India slogans. As the match was in progress the Indian players faced a very hostile crowd — mostly young students, belonging to the Jamiat-e-Tulba and the J&K People's League — who were determined to create mischief on the occasion ostensibly on their home ground. These boys had green crescent flags in their hands and waved them whenever they wanted to applaud the Carribeans. Many of the National Conference workers felt that Chief Minister Dr. Farooq, who

himself was present throughout the match — had he so wished — could have prevented such mischief in the first place.

Farooq's ministry toppled in July 1984 subsequent to defections from his party. His brother-in-law — the husband of his eldest sister Khalida — G. M. Shah succeeded him as the Chief Minister. His faction of the party, known as the National Conference (Khalida)in alliance with the Congress (I) formed the Government. An Airbus was hijacked from Srinagar airport in his tenure. Relating the incident, Khem Lata Wakhlu wrote: "The plane was forced (by Sikh terrorists) to land at Lahore airport in Pakistan. The incident became a highly sensitive issue for the whole nation. Soon after the incident, I was called to Delhi in connection with a meeting of the Tourism Ministry at the Centre. I called on Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on this occasion. Besides talking about matters related to tourism and State politics, she herself raised the hijacking incident and said, 'A Pakistani national was present in that flight. He had been in Srinagar and had made contact with Dr. Farooq and his group with the intention of plotting something. Mohi-ud-Din Shah and Pyare Lal Handoo (two colleagues in the Farooq's Ministry) had gone to the airport to see off the Pakistani national. The hijacking was planned to see that the gentleman safely landed in Pakistan.' "(9) Mohi-ud-Din Shah is a nephew of G.M.Shah, the then Chief Minister.

The situation was very grave. The damage had been done. As per the admission of Dr.Farooq the first batch of youth had gone to receive training in arms across the border immediately after his unceremonious ouster from power. The "Operation Topac" mounted by Zia-ul-Haq, President of Pakistan, was a well-planned and sophisticated effort to infiltrate the Pak-trained saboteurs into all branches of the Kashmir Government, and to expose the entire population to a sustained anti-India propaganda for a length of time. It was calculated to lead on to a well-organised sabotage, terror and public demonstrations aimed at bringing down the entire functioning of the State apparatus to a grinding halt and timed with a *Qabayali*-type invasion from across the border.

The Congress honeymoon with the National Conference (Khalida) came to an end on March 6, 1986 when the former withdrew its support to the Shah Ministry. The next day Shah resigned. Governor's Rule was clamped on the State and the Assembly was kept in a state of animated

abeyance. By November the same year, the suspension of the Assembly was revoked and Dr. Farooq Abdullah was sworn in as the Chief Minister again, in alliance with the Congress (I). Subsequently, the Assembly was dissolved and fresh elections announced.

Against this backdrop, the Muslim United Front, an alliance of the fundamentalist and pro-Pakistan elements emerged on the political scene. Its formation and timing was a master stroke of the 'Inter Services Intelligence' of Pakistan. Its hard-core — mainly youth — already had their first groundings in Afghan Mujahideen encounters and returned to the Valley on the eve of 1987 elections. Some of them had participated in the Anantnag communal riots in February 1986 during the Shah's tenure as the Chief Minister. (10)

The secessionist groups further received a shot in the arm when the Assembly elections in 1987 were rigged under the supervision of Dr. Farooq Abdullah and in connivance with Rajiv Gandhi's Government at the Centre. A large number of young men who were actively involved in the elections in support of the candidates of the Muslim United Front (MUF) were left dejected and frustrated. Their leaders were those who in connivance with Dr. Farooq were in the forefront of burning down the Congress office at Srinagar in May 1983. They deserted the mainstream and strengthened the ranks of pro-Pak elements who did not lag behind in taking advantage of the situation.

The overt and covert support of Dr. Farooq Abdullah and some of his ministerial colleagues, after the unceremonious ouster of the Farooq Ministry in 1984, had already strengthened subversives who, however, deserted Dr. Farooq Abdullah as soon as he came back to power following the Rajiv-Farooq Accord.

Regarding the strength of militant groups or secessionist forces or terrorist outfits, it is interesting to recall that a few years ago when Azam Inquilabi held a Press conference at Srinagar, a newsman asked him about the strength of his organisation. Pat came the reply : "I am the President, the General Secretary and the Working Committee of my organisation." More-or-less the situation was the same with such groups till 1987. Shabir Shah, another terrorist leader who was arrested in late 1989, did not offer any resistence at the time of his arrest. Interestingly enough, no arms and ammunitions were seized from him. Evidence

supported the rumour that the arrest was a "stage-managed show". Shabir Shah had surrendered before the intelligence men because he apprehended a threat to his life on account of the ongoing in-fighting between various groups.

Azam Inquilabi, in an article in a popular Kashmir Urdu weekly in 1989, refuted an 'insinuation' that the Al Fateh had been used by the Indian Government to condemn and crush Kashmiris. He said that following the failure of Pakistan to capture Kashmir in 1965, he had set up a guerrilla body known as the Muslim Liberation Front in 1967 which continued to struggle for a year. He claimed that he was personally involved in the manufacture and use of bombs. He said: "India did not understand the language of peace. We again went underground in 1974. That is what has now come up as the culture of Kalashnikov guns in the Valley during the last one year". Today, he claimed, thousands of Kashmiri youth are ready to take up arms. All these Al Jihad, Al Maqbool, Muquadas Jang, Hizb-e-Allah, Hizb-e-Islam, Allah Tigers, Al Khomeini are the same Al Fateh.

A tragic incident which occurred in the old city of Srinagar in 1989 was a pointer to the turn of events. An 18-year-old boy took out a pistol and showed it to his aunt proclaiming with some bravado: "Look, with this weapon we are going to win freedom." His aunt merely laughed it away, thinking he was just joking and said, "Keep quiet. We have seen many heroes like you before. You mean to win freedom with this pistol." She said this in a sarcastic tone believing the pistol to be a toy. The young man was infuriated over her remarks. Without any ado, he pulled the trigger and shot his aunt in the thigh shouting angrily: "You will never think again that the weapon was a fake."

However, not more than fifty-five casualties were reported in the violent incidents which rocked the Valley between July 1988 and November 1989 in the wake of the spurt in terrorist activities. Replying to a question from Peerzada Ghulam Ahmed Shah, a legislator, Dr.Farooq Abdudllah informed the State Assembly that seventy-two blasts took place between January and July 1989. He added that five persons were killed and fifty-two injured in those blasts. Damage was caused due to fifty-one explosions. The Chief Minister, who was also holding the portfolio of Home, said that (till then) one hundred and

fifty-seven persons had been arrested out of them eighty were trained in Pakistan or Pak-occupied Kashmir and seventy-seven were those who acted as motivators or collaborators or harbourers etc. He added that twenty-three persons were released on parole on the eve of the Id in 1989.

The situation in early 1989 was not as bad as projected even though the Chief Minister himself once described the situation as 'warlike'. The regrettable part, however, was that the local police did not possess the will to deal with the situation. In a close-knit society — as is in Kashmir — the police force including some officers and militants are not unknown to each other. In some cases they are even related to each other. Some of the policemen and officers in fact, had participated in anti-accession movements during their student days.

The administration was equally panic-stricken during those days. When Shabir Shah was arrested, the Deputy Commissioners of Srinagar and Anantnag declined to sign the warrant of arrest under the Public Safety Act. The Divisional Commissioner, Kashmir region, had to do that job, instead.

A list of 'awardees', announced by Al Mujahid, an outfit of terrorists, on the first death anniversary of Aizaz Ahmed Dar — an alleged terrorist in 1989 — gave an indication of active leaders of terrorists in the Valley. The awardees included Mohammad Yaseen Malik, Ashfaq Majid, Abdul Hamid Sheikh, Javed Nalqa, Mushtaq Ahmed Zargar alias Latram, Mohammad Iqbal Gundroo, Mohammad Ashraf, Abdul Aziz Sheikh and Shabir Ahmed Shah.

On September 15, 1989, Tak Lal Taploo, Vice-President of the Jammu & Kashmir Bharatiya Janata Party was shot dead near his Srinagar home by two unidentified gunmen. Taploo was so popular that even burqa-clad Muslim women attended his funeral. He was fearless and was the only spokesman of Hindu chauvinistic forces in the Valley. After about two months, Neel Kanth Ganjoo, a retired sessions judge who had pronounced the death sentence upon terrorist Maqbool Butt, was shot dead in broad daylight on a busy Hari Singh High Street. Though about forty witnesses — all Muslims — had deposed against Butt, Justice Ganjoo was singled out as a target of vengeance.

Earlier, on August 21, Mohammad Yusuf Halwai, a prominent leader of the National Conference, was gunned down in broad daylight by

masked terrorists at Kalaspora in the old city. While he was bleeding to death, people watched in dread, and nobody dared to take him to the hospital. The terror-stricken neighbourhood of shopkeepers was shivering with fear. And at that time Assembly session was in progress.

In the morning of December 1, Saifulla Lone, an upright Station House Officer of the Maisuma police station in the old city, was shot dead on his way to a nearby mosque. His body lay on the road for serveral hours. Nobody, including the police staff, could dare touch it. Later, terrorists themselves off-loaded the body onto a hand-cart and carried it to the police station.

Even as early as in July in her dispatch to the India Week, a tabloid weekly, Aasha Khosa wrote: "In Srinagar, the Bohri Kadal locality in the old city is recognised as a militant's stronghold. It is here that pro-Pakistan extremists make their presence felt time and again. They have struck at least four times in a period of two years. The congested locality is also conducive to their actions. They strike fast and make good their escape, leaving confused Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) personnel to launch a fruitless hunt in the narrow and labyrinthine bylanes of the area. And it is here that they struck again on the evening of July 13, the eve of Id and the day the city pays homage to the martyrs killed in the popular 1931 uprising against the monarchy. Their latest success left two CRPF men and an eight-year-old boy dead, and a dozen others injured. It also shattered the fragile peace in the troubled city.

"Terrorists, according to eyewitnesses, arrived in three groups and took up positions at some of the narrow outlets from the locality, near the police station. They were ready well before the ill-fated CRPF truck arrived on the scene on what was a routine patrol, and intelligence sources say that they were even served tea and biscuits by a resident of the area while they waited. When the CRPF truck rumbled into sight, militants opened fire with their Kalashnikovs, killing two CRPF men on the spot.

"All hell broke loose on the crowded streets. The CRPF jawans opened fire in retaliation even as people ran helter-skelter. Caught in the cross-fire was the eight-year-old boy who later died. Another twelve civilians were injured. But quick as they were, the CRPF could not match the killers on home turf. Their Kalashnikovs now slung across their

shoulders, they slipped into the densely populated locality and sprinted down the narrow bylanes to lose themselves in the vicinity of the graveyard near the Hari Parbat hillock, a Hindu shrine. Their attempt to nab the killers of their colleagues having failed, the CRPF men ran amok, beating up people and arbitrarily raiding houses in the locality." (11) Later, the Chief Minister informed the Assembly that after the death of CRPF jawans in an ambush by subversives in the evening of July 13, there was a cross-firing between the CRPF jawans and the subversives as a result of which five civilians died. Such cases became tools in the hands of human rights activists who would not dare to condemn the attack on the CRPF jawans but would shed tears over the 'brutalities' of the security forces in such incidents.

Subversives were bestowed with a grand success by politicians of different shades as their call to boycott the Lok Sabha elections in November 1989 received an overwhelming response. The politicians refused to counter subversives politically, though a survey, conducted by the *Global Topic*, a local English language monthly, revealed that 51 per cent of the respondents to a questionnaire did not support the boycott call, while 1.5 per cent were non-committal. The National Conference bagged the Srinagar seat uncontested while a mere 5.11 per cent polling was registered in the Anantnag constitutency as the boycott call by terrorists had lengthened its shadow over the Valley. The same was the situation in Baramulla where only 5.47 per cent votes were cast.

In fact, the process of being reduced to political irrelevance was completed for the National Conference, as it grandly and gravely failed to meet the challenge posed by terrorists, politically. Barring a few isolated areas where some National Conference legislators, including ministers, rose to the occasion and succeeded in ensuring some polling, most of the ruling alliance leaders yielded before subversives for obvious reasons. In the Pattan Assembly segment, a predominantly Shia Muslim area, of the Baramullah Lok Sabha constituency, only one vote was cast. Agha Syed Mehmood, a National Conference Minister, represented the constituency in the Assembly. The same area is also considered a stronghold of Maulvi Iftikhar Ansari, a Congress (I) Minister, who represented the constituency in the State Assembly once by defeating the National Conference candidate. However, the credit goes to G.R.Kar, a

Minister in the National Conference-Congress coalition Government, headed by Dr.Farooq Abdullah. He was busy in Bihar canvassing for the Congress (I) candidates in the Lok Sabha elections, but returned home to Sopore to cast his vote. His five family members, including his wife, also cast their votes.

Soon after the Lok Sabha elections which saw the Janata Dal Government in power, Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, a Kashmiri, was given the Home portfolio in the Union Cabinet. Within a few days on December 8, 1989, Dr. Rubayya Sayeed, the youngest daughter of the Mufti, was kidnapped by subversives while she was on her way home in a public transport from Lal Ded Hospital, a few km away. The kidnappers demanded the release of five detenues including a Pak national. After a five-day drama, the detenues were released in exchange for the safe release of the hostage. The release of the daughter of the Home Minister of the Government of India led to a burst of terrorism in the Valley. It was a day of joy, excitement and celebration in the ranks of subversives and they openly celebrated the occasion. They got a hero's welcome — dancing, folk songs and welcome arches adorned their processions. People raised their hands in a 'V for victory' sign and sang songs of freedom. And gradually, imperceptibly, the people were drawn into the fold of extremism. By now thousands of youth had already been sucked into its vortex and it was only natural for their parents and elders to encourage them.

On December 27, P.N. Bhatt, an advocate and newsman, was riddled with bullets and killed on his way home from the court at Anantnag. Before the elections, the terrorist outfits had whipped up Islamic sentiments with a successful call for observing purdah, boycott of motion-pictures in cinema halls and looting and burning liquor shops.

In December 1989, many police personnel were gunned down by subversives. Mustafa Qadri, Assistant Sub-Inspector; O.N. Wattal, Deputy Superintendent of Police and Ali Mohammad Moghlu were shot. Krishan Gopal and Hamidullah Butt of the Police Department also lost their lives along with others. They were not only killed but their cruelly mutilated bodies were also hung from trees on State highways. On February 13, 1990, Lassa Kaul, Director of the Srinagar centre of Doordarshan, was shot dead at the doorsteps of his house. On March 25,

Mir Mustafa, a liberal Independent legislator, was hanged, after torture, in captivity. The same day, a notable Communist poet Abdul Sattar Ranjoor was killed near Shopian in Southern Kashmir. On April 6, H.L. Khera, General Manager of the Hindustan Machine Tools (HMT) factory — a public sector undertaking — was taken hostage along with Professor Mushir-ul-Haq, Vice-Chancellor of Kashmir University and his secretary Abdul Ghani. Professor Haq and his secretary were keeping the Ramzan fast. A group claiming to be the Jammu & Kashmir Students Liberation Front demanded the release of three detenues. As the demand was not fulfilled, Khera was shot dead on April 10 and on the following day the bodies of Mushir-ul-Haq and Abdul Ghani were found in a field on the outskirts of the capital city. The list is unending.

In January, there were buses and trucks moving around in the heart of Srinagar and other towns in the Valley inviting people to take a ride to Islamabad-Rawalpindi. The organisers shouted from the bustops: "Come one, come all. Take a free ride to Islamabad-Rawalpindi. Earn merit and join the jehad." Many young men were lured to go in this spate. Several parents did not even know till their children had left or had been literally whisked away. Some parents even consented to their wards joining the 'jehad' as azadi (Independence) appeared, to them, to be at the doorsteps. The entire atmosphere was vitiated while the government machinery remained paralysed and a mere spectator to this sordid turn-of-events.[12]

A full-scale war ensued during the next few months which is still continuing. During 1989-'92 about 2,200 secessionists were killed and about 15,000 apprehended in the violence-rocked Valley and the border areas of the adjoining Jammu region of the State.

In the first half of 1992, the quantum of terrorist violence in the State remained at a high level with continuing attacks on the security forces (between 150-200 incidents per week), explosions, arsons, abductions (between 10-15 incidents per week) and killing of civilians. Even the predominantly Muslim Doda district in Jammu region witnessed stepped up violence. Frequent hartal calls by the terrorist outfits evoked response from civilians, partly out of fear, leading to disruption of normal life. Comparative figures of violence reveal 1,564 killings against 3,905 incidents in 1990 to 1,830 killings against 3,121 incidents in 1991.

Terrorists killed 1,585 men and women including 981 Muslims, 218 Hindus, 23 Sikhs, 510 Government officials, 363 security personnel and 12 political leaders from January 90 to October 92.

Similarly, sizeable recoveries of weapons and ammunition from susbversives in encounters and search operations have continued. As many as 7,000 rifles; 450 machine guns; 400 rocket launchers; 1,000 rockets; 7,000 grenades; 2,450 pistols and revolvers — sufficient to arm a full Army division — were recovered by the security forces from 1990 to '92. Killings of hard-core terrorists continued to reveal the Pakistani connection.In 1989, out of 367 terrorists arrested, 56 acknowledged being trained in Pakistan. In 1990,out of 5,067 arrested as many as 1,054 were trained in Pakistan. Nearly 156 border encounters in 1990 saw 387 terrorists and activists killed and 1,094 arrested while in 1991, 158 similar encounters saw 438 killed and 360 arrested. The strength of the terrorist outfits too swelled to about 10,000 by this period. Among them the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen is stated to be 7,000 strong.

A list of the subversive outfits in Kashmir Valley makes interesting reading. The organisations are — Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, People's League, Hizbullah, Hezb-Islami, Hezb-ul-Jehad, Al Umar Mujahideen, Harkat-i-Mujahideen, Islamic Students League, Muslim Students Federation, Allah Tigers, Zia Tigers, Zia Missionary Force, JKLF Students' Wing, Kashmir Students' Liberation Front, Dukhtran-i-Millat, Jamaat-e-Islami, Jamiat-e-Tulba, Tehrik-e-Islami, Al Karbala, Al Khomeini, Shabab-ul-Muslimeen, Zarb-i-Kaleem, Operation Balakote, Victory Liberation Front, Mahaz-i-Azadi, Muslim Rangers Force, Al-Fateh Force, Zarb-i-Moomin, Kashmir Liberation Movement, Kashmir Liberation Army, Kashmir Liberation Organisation and Muslim Guerrilla Tigers. More and more such outfits have surfaced since then.

Pakistan's overall thrust has been to try and influence these pro-Pakistan merger groups and create conditons which may help them dominate developments in the Valley. For this purpose, the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) is advising these groups to sabotage the revival of political process through terror tactics and countervailing efforts by the JKLF to assert itself on the independence platform. Islamic postures are sustained under the force of the gun. Terrorists are also egged on to continue

intimidation, selective killing of religious minorities and subverting local media reporting to exploit human rights sensitivities.

Due to continuous and effective policing on the Line of Control by the para-military forces and the Army, the Pakistanis are finding it difficult to push through the remaining 3,000 to 4,000 trained subversives from Pak-occupied Kashmir. However, smaller groups of twenty to twenty-five have managed to infiltrate through either some of the lesser known routes or thinly policed borders. The Pakistan Army has repeatedly used tactics of diversionary or cover fire along the Line of Control, extending even to a few border skirmishes with the Indian Army and firing on Indian villages in the Kupwara and Poonch sectors. Couriers have, nevertheless, managed to get sizeable stocks of arms and ammunition of Pakistani origin, across to subversives in the Valley. This is borne out by the spate of arms recovered, after surrenders, arrests and disclosures, made by the apprehended activists. Disclosures by arrested subversives have confirmed Pakistan's involvement.

The ISI has had no dearth of funds at its disposal to provide sanctuary, arms training, free supply of weapons and guidance. The 'Kashmir Liberation Cess' was introduced in Pak-occupied Kashmir budget for 1991-'92, ranging from Rs 4 to 300. The ISI also sponsored a separate official organisation called the Kashmir Liberation Cell, headed by Ayaz Ahmed Khan, a retired Air Vice-Marshal and a known hard-liner on Indo-Pak issues. The Kashmir Liberation Cell also collected contributions for organising relief camps for 'Kashmiri refugees'. Funds from this organisation also reached the ISI for military training. Other private organisations in Pak-occupied Kashmir as well as in Punjab province of Pakistan have been openly collecting funds for Kashmiri terrorists.

At several training centres across the border, intensive elementary training was reinforced for longer duration and even battle inoculation of intensively committed Islamic cadres with the Jamaat in Pakistan or Hizb-Islami (Hikmatyar) in the Pakhtia, and Nangarhar provinces of Afghanistan was resorted to. Later, these trainees were assisted to infiltrate across the Kashmir border under cover fire. The tasks assigned to them included contacting couriers to locate caches of hidden arms and their clandestine transportation. Better trained recruits among the saboteurs were instigated to target the security forces or vital installa-

tions. They were also instigated to try and extend the arc of violence beyond the Valley, to Jammu and even other parts of India.

Nepal has become a base for Pakistan to contact the Valley-based terrorist leaders. The ISI has also sent trained subversives to the Valley via Nepal. After their arrival in Kathmandu by air, arrangements are made to send them across to the Valley by land routes in India, using the fruit carters' trade to circumvent checks en route.

The ISI has also been directly involved in the propagandist activities, aimed at internationalising the Kashmir issue. The Kashmiri American Council (KAC) of Ghulam Nabi Fai in the United States, and the World Jammu & Kashmir Freedom Movement (WJKFM) of Ayub Thukar in U.K. are being used for lobbying support among the US Congressmen, Senators and British parliamentarians and the foreign Press to highlight alleged atrocities and human rights violations by the Indian security forces in Kashmir. The Kashmir International Forum in the UK, headed by Raza Munshi Khan — a protégé of the Pak-occupied Kashmir Prime Minister Sardar Qayyum — organised an international Kashmir conference at Hotel Hilton on November 17, 1991 with financial assistance from the ISI.

A clandestine radio station — Sada-e-Hurriat-e-Kashmir — has started functioning from across the Line of Control since early 1991. Pakistan has also been resorting to blatant falsehood and misreporting on events in Jammu & Kashmir. It broadcasts specially-tailored distorted programmes on the history of partition to incite disaffection among Kashmiris. Such programmes included *Vasal, Jal Raha Hai Kashmir, Kashmir Dastan, the Killing Fields of Kashmir, Kashmir Banega Pakistan* and *Muqadama-e-Kashmir*. Pak TV recently leased a transponder on *Asia Sat* to strengthen its misinformation campaign against India on the alleged violations of human rights. It also indulged in tampering with programmes of foreign television services and re-telecasting them. It also lifted and tampered with BBC's programme on February 17, 1992 on Jammu & Kashmir which had been telecast on the Star TV. This brought sharp protests from BBC.

The ISI's relationship with the JKLF of Amanullah Khan has come under strain recently. The ISI did not initially oppose Amanullah's plans to organise a pro-independence 'march' across the Line of Control in

February-March 1992 but it was put on the defensive after the overwhelming response the march evoked even in Pak-occupied Kashmir (PoK). It was feared that the demand for secession of PoK from Pakistan may again raise its head. Even the ruling leaders in PoK put pressure on the ISI to curb JKLF's activities. Efforts to sow dissension within the JKLF, through formation of the Farooq Haider (almost defunct) and Rashid Hasrat (now deceased)factions, failed to curb the intransigence of Amanullah Khan. The ISI's directive to the pro-Islamic outfits in the Valley — such as Hizb-ul-Mujahideen — to exterminate JKLF cadres also did not endear it to the JKLF. Nevertheless, Amanullah Khan can only function inside Pakistan and PoK, under the over-all control of the ISI.

In a bid to curb the growth of disunity among various Kashmiri oufits in PoK and Pakistan, the ISI has, of late, increasingly emphasized the need to forge a united platform, both overground and underground. Its another purpose is to provide a political format to what remains essentially a motley phenomenon of the Pak-abetted militancy.It has been named the Tehrik-e-Hurriat-e-Kashmir (THK). It came into existence formally in 1990. One of the Kashmiri activists — Azam Inquilabi of Mahaz-e-Azadi — who went over to PoK in 1989 has been propped up by the ISI to preside over the activities of this forum.

The ominous shadow of the Islamabadisation over the Valley was lengthened as majority of politicians contributed handsomely before and after partition of the Indian subcontinent to worsen the situation. Old-timers recall an incident in this regard. Once closing the arguments in the high court in a case of dismissal of some police sub-inspectors from the service by the State Government, Mirza Afzal Beg, the founder of the Plebiscite Front and a leading lawyer ruined his otherwise strong case by outbursting, "My lord, if you cannot restore the star on the shoulders of these police officers please give them a star and a crescent (an allusion to the Islami flag).

References:

1. *Understanding The Kashmiri Insurgency*, Peer Giyas-ud-Din P. 36
2. *Kashmir : A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990*, Alastair Lamb P. 259
3. Ibid, Lamb P. 259
4. Ibid, Lamb P. 260
5. *Arms, Aims and Aspect*, Gen. J. N. Choudhary (He was the Indian Army Chief when the war broke out)
6. *My Life and Times*, Mir Qasim P. 129
7. *Kashmir : Behind the White Curtain*, Khem Lata Wakhlu P. 205
8. Ibid, Wakhlu P. 215
9. Ibid, Wakhlu P. 240 (She was Minister of State for Tourism in the Shah ministry)
10. Ibid, Peer Giyas-ud-Din P. 56
11. *Ms. Aasha Khosa*, news dispatch in the *India Week* July 21-27, 1989
12. Ibid, Wakhlu P. 377

II

The Abdullah Dynasty

The vexing problem of Kashmir has not burst upon the scene as a sudden phenomenon but is the outcome of folly after folly committed by the Indian leadership which has a pathetic proclivity to ignore realties and then to seek refuge in cliches in face of trouble.

With partition of the country into India and Pakistan in 1947, five hundred odd princely states and principalities, were given the option to choose between India and Pakistan. However, on August 12, the Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir offered to execute a Standstill Agreement with India and Pakistan "on all matters . . . pending settlement of details and formal execution of fresh agreement." While Pakistan signed the Standstill Agreement, India wanted the Maharaja or his representative to come to Delhi "for negotiating Standstill Agreement between his State and the Indian dominion ".

In spite of signing the agreement, Pakistan imposed an economic blockade,cutting off supplies of essential commodities such as foodgrains, salt, sugar, tea and petrol to the Valley. In October 1947, having succeeded in creating acute scarcity of essential commodities in the Valley, it sent in Afridi — desperadoes and soldiers in plain clothes — with modern weapons to Poonch, Mirpur, Bhimbher and Kotli area in the Jammu region, and Muzaffarabad, Karnah and Uri in the Kashmir region with the intention of annexing the State of Jammu & Kashmir to

itself. The Maharaja's forces could not resist the premeditated Pakistani aggression by proxy. Moreover, most of the Muslim soldiers of the Army of J&K State had deserted their ranks to join the aggressors and killed the loyal Hindu soldiers of the State Army.

Recording the melodrama, Prof Bal Raj Madhok — a prominent politician, who was at that time vice-principal of D.A.V. College at Srinagar — wrote in his book, *Kashmir: The Storm Centre of the World* : "The Pak invasion was to be launched from Abbotabad side on October 21. Srinagar was to be captured by October 25, so that Jinnah may celebrate Id-ul-Zuha at Srinagar. An attempt was also to be made on the life of the Maharaja on October 24, when he was expected to go in a procession to Batmaloo ground for Vijaya Dashmi celebrations. A similar plan had been prepared for Jammu also."

Once the Pakistani invaders reached the outskirts of Srinagar and snuffed out its power supply, the beleaguered Maharaja appealed for military aid from India. He also offered to accede to the Indian Union, which was accepted by the then Governor General of India, Lord Mountbatten, on October 27, 1947. However, in his reply to the Maharaja's request, Lord Mountbatten added a rider:"As soon as law and order has been restored in Kashmir and its soil cleared of the invader, the question of State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people..."

Woh Waqt bhi dekha hai
Tareekh ke gaharaiyon men,
Lamhon ne khata ki,
Sadion ne saza pai.

(Mistake committed at the spur of a moment proved to be a curse and punishment for centuries.)

According to Prof. Madhok the offer of plebiscite was uncalled for, irrelevant to the situation and illegal. He said, "There was no provision in the Instrument of Accession about it. It was outside the ambit of the Act of Indian Independence of the British Parliament. It was never accepted by the Maharaja, who had absolute choice in the matter. Neither was it demanded by Sheikh Abdullah nor by any other leader of the State".

At the time of independence, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and other National Conference leaders were behind the bars, imprisoned for launching the 'Quit Kashmir' movement against the autocratic rule of the Hindu Maharaja. However, on persistent intervention of Mahatma Gandhi, who visited the State from August 1 to 4 in 1947, and other Congress leaders, the Sheikh was released on September 29. The Muslim League leaders, including Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who was the first Governor-General of Pakistan, had consistently opposed the freedom movement of Kashmir, branding it a *goonda* movement.

The National Conference leadership under the guidance of Sheikh Abdullah decided to defer the issue of accession till the State was granted a responsible government. In the meantime, National Conference leaders — Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq who were at the time of partition in Lahore (they were later to succeed Sheikh Abdullah as Prime Minister and Chief Minister of J & K State following his ouster from power in 1953) — were asked to act as emissaries and contact the Muslim League leaders and Communist supporters of Pakistan to bring about a rapprochment between the Sheikh and Jinnah. However, despite their best efforts, they failed in their mission as Jinnah and his Prime Minister, Liaqat Ali Khan, did not agree to meet Sheikh Abdullah. Jinnah, indeed, had already publicly declared: "Kashmir is going to fall in my lap like a ripe apple in any case."

Jinnah and the Sheikh had strained their relations in June 1944, when the former visited Kashmir. During the visit, he was given public receptions by various political parties of the State. The Sheikh personally welcomed him to the Valley and held long private talks. But on the second day, Jinnah, at a huge congregation at the Jama Masjid in Srinagar, asked the Sheikh to wind up the National Conference and in an intemperate language, accused the Sheikh (who used to be called by his supporters as the Lion of Kashmir) of double-think and double-talk. An infuriated Sheikh lashed out at Jinnah and asked the National Conference workers to see him out of the Valley. Following this incident Jinnah was not able to address any public meeting in Kashmir.

... The Sheikh had already sent his family to Indore for safety (at that time). He himself slipped away to Delhi before any action on the Maharaja's request for help was taken by the Government of India which

decided to send its Secretary to the Ministry of States, V.P. Menon, to get first-hand information. He flew to Srinagar on October 25. He soon realized the gravity of the situation. He, therefore, advised the Maharaja to leave immediately for Jammu to be out of reach of Pakistani invaders. This was a timely and correct advice because the aid could be sent from India only after the Maharaja had acceded to India by signing the Instrument of Accession. That he could not have done, had he fallen in the hands of Pakistani invaders. The Maharaja left Srinagar for Jammu that very night and Menon and Mehar Chand Mahajan, the Prime Minister to the Maharaja, flew to New Delhi.

On receiving the report from Menon, the Government of India felt inclined to go to the rescue of the State. Menon flew back to Jammu with the Instrument of Accession. He woke up the Maharaja, who was fast asleep following a night-long drive from Srinagar. Menon has recorded in his book, Integration of States, *that before going to sleep the Maharaja had left instructions with his A.D.C. that 'If I (Menon) came back from Delhi, he was not to be disturbed as it would mean that the Government of India had decided to come to his rescue and he should, therefore, be allowed to sleep in peace, but that if I failed to return, that meant everything was lost. In that eventuality, the A.D.C. was to shoot him in his sleep'*

The Maharaja at once signed the Instrument of Accession and also handed over a letter for Lord Mountbatten, the then Governor-General of India, informing him that it was his intention to set up an interim Government at once and to ask Sheikh Abdullah to carry the responsibilities in the emergency with Mehar Chand Mahajan, his Prime Minister.

Sardar Patel, the then Home Minister in the Government of India, in his anxiety for the State, had been waiting at Delhi airport for the return of Menon. But Nehru and Lord Mountbatten were hesitant. It was not before Mahajan, who was aware that every minute counted if about a lakh of Hindus in Srinagar were to be saved from total annihilation, threatened to proceed to Karachi and surrender Kashmir to Jinnah to secure safety of Hindus that Nehru's reluctance could be overcome.

Abdullah was interested only in Kashmir Valley. His sole ambition was to become master and arbiter of Kashmir. He neither had any

interest not any stake in other parts of that far flung kingdom (including Jammu and Ladakh regions).

His attitude about accession to India or Pakistan was also guided by this one over-riding ambition and consideration. As a realist he knew that his followers were emotionally inclined towards Pakistan. As an islamic fundamentalist his own intuitive sympathy was for Pakistan. The tenor and tone of his autobiography Atish-i-Chinar *point to his aversion for Hindus and the Hindu-majority parts of the State. All through his biography, he has referred to Anantnag, a district headquarters in southern Kashmir as Islamabad.*

At the same time, he was equally sceptical about his own future in the case of accession of the State to Pakistan. He himself has given a vivid account of the talks he had with two representatives of Pakistan, Dr. Mohammad Din Tashir and Sheikh Sadiq Hassan, president of the Punjab Muslim League, who visited Srinagar on the eve of the Pak Aggression (by proxy). They tried to persuade him to put his might for accession of the State to Pakistan. Instead of giving a clear reply, he equivocated. He rather wanted a clear assurance for himself before taking any positive decision in favour of accession to Pakistan. Both of them invited the Sheikh to visit Lahore and have direct talks with Jinnah. The Sheikh accepted the invitation.

But before going to Pakistan he had to go to Delhi to preside over the State's People's Conference of which he had been elected the president. He was in Delhi when the Pak attack on Kashmir began on October 21. He addressed a Press conference at Delhi the same day, in which he blamed the Maharaja's Government for repression in Poonch but did not utter a word against Pak raiders who had created insurgency there.

On his own admission the Sheikh was in Delhi on October 25-26 when Mehar Chand Mahajan reached there to plead for immediate acceptance of accession and despatch of Indian troops to save Srinagar from falling into the hands of invaders. There is no authentic information about the Sheikh's whereabout from October 22 to 24. Even if he had returned to Kashmir he must have maintained a studied silence.

Abdullah was at the residence of Nehru in New Delhi on October 26 when a crucial meeting about accession was held there. He did not take part in the meeting but overheard what transpired in that from a side room.(1)

Having been apprised of the situation, the Sheikh now desperately favoured the State's accession to India. He pleaded fervently with Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Prime Minister, to accept the request of the Maharaja for accession and to send the Army to Srinagar. He even opposed the 'reference to people' justifiably claiming that he represented the people of the Valley as head of the National Conference — the only political organisation in the State which commanded unquestioned support in the entire Valley irrespective of communal line-ups.

In a justification of the havoc wreaked upon the unfortunate populace of the Valley by the Pathan aggressors, Lamb said that "parties of tribesmen looted the markets in Muzaffarabad, where there were many Hindu and Sikh shopkeepers during this period. They also attacked Christian premises, notably in Baramulla", but added "it might be expected from warriors engaged in what they saw as a jehad (a holy war) . . . Any incidental savagery by these men would pale into insignificance when compared to what had taken place both in Punjab and Jammu at the time of the partition (with as many as 160,00,000 refugees and 5,00,000 killed in communal violence). There can be no doubt that for those in the way, Pathans on the warpath is bad news . . . The significance of the Pathan atrocities is to be found less in their alleged magnitude than in the great publicity given to the time and ever since.

"The Indian 1948 White Paper concentrates on the horrors of the attack on Baramulla, on the road a few miles to the west of Srinagar. Other atrocity stories reported in the White Paper in fact relate to later atrocities in the war and other sectors; and they have no bearing upon the nature of the initial tribal advance towards Srinagar from Domel. Even in Baramulla, according to the White Paper, accounts of what happened vary. One source claims that 3,000 inhabitants were killed, many of them Hindus.

"An American journalist, Robert Trumbull, reporting for The New York Times from Baramulla on Nov. 10, 1947, two weeks after the attack, reported that only '1,000 were left of a normal population of about 14,000'. This has been interpreted by Indian writers to mean that up to 13,000 people were killed in Baramulla. In fact, of course, it meant no more than that the majority of the town's people had gone away, as one would expect in the circumstances. If one applied the refugee-killed ratio

of partition to Trumbull's Baramullah statistics, one would come up with something like 400 killed, a reasonable figure in the light of other sources .

"Two facts should be remembered when considering any account of the tribal operation of October 1947. First — the Indian side committed its share of atrocities in the process of repelling the 'invaders'. This is well enough documented, albeit rarely mentioned in the literature of the Kashmir dispute. Second — the Kashmiri casualties suffered in 1947 were certainly far less than those which have been inflicted upon the inhabitants of the Valley of Kashmir by the Indian security forces since 1989."(2)

What strange parallels has Lamb drawn. He justifies the savagery of the Pathans. And, he does not make clear on whom the Indian side committed its share of atrocities in the process of repelling the invaders.

There is not a shred of doubt that the tribals' invasion on Kashmir and Jammu was engineered by Pakistan which could not send its Army for the operation as it was then under the command of a British officer. In June, 1947 began in Poonch, an area in the Jammu region, a no-tax campaign which rapidly developed into a secessionist movement. This was greatly reinforced by a crisis throughout most of Poonch when on August 14 and 15 people tried to unfurl the Pakistani flag, held public demonstrations and celebrate the 'Pakistan Day', in defiance of the Maharaja's orders.

In a justification of the rebel action, Lamb purported that the Kashmir Day had been observed on August 14 since 1931, while the fact is that the Kashmir Day is observed on July 13. Martial law was imposed. The Maharaja's Government, well aware of the danger brewing in Poonch, had already ordered all Muslims in the State (Jagir) to hand over their firearms and ammunition to the authorities. In reaction, fresh supplies of weapons were sought from across the frontier. By the beginning of September, bands of Poonch-men rose up in arms, equipped with weapons obtained from Pakistan. They were also being joined by small groups of volunteers from across the west bank of the Jhelum. By this time, others in authority in Pakistan had begun to take an active, though claimed to be unofficial, interest in the Poonch revolt. A Pakistani soldier, Colonel Akhtar Khan — later to become a senior commander in

the second Indo-Pakistan war over Kashmir in 1965 under the pseudonym 'General Tariq' — records a meeting with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaqat Ali Khan, and a number of other Pakistani ruling elites, including the Finance Minister, Ghulam Mohammad, and the Governor of West Punjab Government, Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, during which practical steps to aid the rebels were considered.(3)

However, Lamb concludes that the evidence tends to confirm that Jinnah was kept entirely isolated from such discussions until mid-September though elsewhere in the same book he writes that K.P.S.Menon, the Indian Ambassador to China, was aware of these developments and informed his Government. When even Menon in Peking was aware, how could Jinnah, the head of Pakistan, be unaware? In the meantime, Pakistan resorted to an economic blockade of Kashmir Valley, proffering a lame excuse for the short supply of esssential commodities — any fall in the supplies was probably due to such factors as the reluctance of lorry drivers to cross border tracts between J & K State and Pakistan which were then ravaged by communal violence. Pakistan sent Major (later Colonel) A. S. B. Shah (at that time Joint Secretary in the Pakistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs which was also responsible for matters relating to the State of J & K) to discuss the improvement in supply routes from Pakistan. Instead, Shah brought with him a blank Instrument of Accession to Pakistan which he hoped the Maharaja would fill up and append his signature to. (4)

On September 29, Sheikh Abdullah was released from detention. A few days later other National Conference leaders also gained their freedom. The Instrument of Accession was signed by the Maharaja on October 26 and the Indian troops followed the next day to drive out the invaders from J & K. The Indian Constitution did not justify any rider such as reference of accession to the people at a later stage in an Instrument of Accession. India referred the issue to the United Nations on whose intervention both the forces ceased firing and a cease-fire line, to be supervised by UN observers, was agreed upon between India and Pakistan.

Abdullah took over as the Chief Emergency Officer of the State as the Instrument of Accession was signed. He continued in that office till March 25, 1948 when under the oath of loyalty to India he became the

Prime Minister with Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, Shyam Lal Saraf, Girdhari Lal Dogra, Sardar Budh Singh and Colonel Pir Mohammad Khan comprising the Cabinet.

No sooner did the Indian Army clear large portions of the State of the Pak invaders and cease-fire was agreed to (in January 1949), than the Sheikh started demanding the Maharaja's ouster and a special status for Kashmir in the name of 'Muslims of the Valley' or 'The Muslim character of the State'. He succeeded in extracting a number of concessions such as a separate constitution and a separate flag for the State, besides different nomenclatures for its head of the State and head of the Government. The head of the State was to be known as Sadr-i-Riyasat, while the head of the Government was to be called Prime Minister. The Indian Government even agreed to incorporate a special provision — Article 370 — in the Constitution in the name of safeguarding the xenophobic demands of the Sheikh.

In a triumphant mood, the Sheikh ordered elections for a Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution for the State. Overplaying his cards, he got 73 members elected unopposed to the Assembly and engineered the defeat of two opposition candidates from the Jammu region. This lead to a virtual one party rule in the State which further alienated the residents of the Jammu region.

Resentful of being completely ignored and sidelined as well as misgoverned, the people of Jammu launched a strong agitation against the J&K Government and Congress policies, under the leadership of Pandit Prem Nath Dogra, a respected leader of the region. Raising the slogan of "Ek Vidhan, Ek Pradhan, Ek Nishan"(one constitution, one Prime Minister and one flag), the Praja Parishad — the organisation that spearheaded the agitation — called for the extension of all provisions of the Constitution of India to the State. Sheikh Abdullah's Government came down heavily on the agitation which resulted in the martyrdom of 40 Praja Parishad activists. The Sheikh dubbed the agitators as communal even though a large number of Muslims from the Jammu region had participated in it.

In Kashmir, too, the National Conference Government was accused of corruption and maladministration by a large section of its own workers

and leaders. Disenchantment soon set in because of the Sheikh's strong-arm methods of governance, in utter disregard of democratic norms and values. As discontentment started to simmer, the Sheikh's popularity as well as his political base began to erode fast.

Unable to stem the rot in the State, which was of his own creation despite the unquestioned love and affection accorded to him by the people in the Valley, Sheikh Abdullah dug up the buried issue of the State's accession to India. He adopted a new stance of denigrating India and began to convey to Kashmiri Muslims that their woes were not because of misrule or corruption but due to the accession to India.

Meanwhile, the tragic death of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji, founder-president of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh, who was under detention in Kashmir, rocked not only Kashmir but also the whole of India. He had been detained for entering the State without a permit which every Indian, living outside the State, was required to obtain. He died in detention under mysterious circumstances. The permit system was subsequently withdrawn, but only after the loss.

Some leaders of the National Conference, including Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad — who was the Deputy Prime Minister in the Sheikh's Government — G.M.Sadiq, Maulana Sayeed and D.P.Dhar resented the shifting stance of the Sheikh and addressed public meetings and party workers, opposing the diabolical turn in the stand of the Sheikh. A number of Congress leaders visited Srinagar to persuade Sheikh Abdullah but their attempts proved in vain. In his arrogance the Sheikh went as far as insulting Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, India's Education Minister, publicly at an Idgah gathering in Srinagar. The Sheikh even held meetings with foreign diplomats and dignitaries such as U. S. Ambassadors to India — Henderson and Adlai Stevenson. Such developments caused anxiety in the minds of the people. Even the Communist Party of India, which was in favour of accession of Kashmir to Pakistan in 1947, flayed the Sheikh for playing into the hands of 'imperialist' powers. Some people demanded action against the Sheikh for his irresponsible acts and demanded his ouster. Throughout June and July 1953, the Sheikh continued to fulminate against the Centre and made attempts to arouse anti-Delhi sentiments, refusing even to meet India's Prime Minister. He was under the impression that the Government of India would

once again succumb to his pressure tactics and accept his demands, however unreasonable they might have been.

In the grave situation that had arisen, the Sadr-i-Riyasat(as the Governor in that State was called) and the Union Government in consultation with some prominent National Conference leaders, decided to dismiss Sheikh Abdullah and incarcerate him for secessionist activities.

The Sheikh was succeeded by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad as the Prime Minister of the State. He was welcomed as the right choice. He released all political prisoners put behind the bars by the Sheikh. His very first declaration was the abolition of levy on peasants. He made education till University free. He introduced subsidy on food and promised all-round development of the State. It was during his time that planning was introduced in the State and Central loans and assistance sought for economic development. He kept his word as far as the development was concerned. A singular achievement during his regime was the construction of the Banihal Tunnel on the Jammu-Srinagar Highway which made it an all-weather national highway and reduced the distance between the two major cities of the State.

But with the development works came corruption which infected every walk of life, extending patronage to vested interests. Corruption became rampant as political supporters were pampered and opponents allured into silence with money. A number of centres of extra-constitutional powers developed and some even emerged as law unto themselves to browbeat their opponents. While the Sheikh resorted to political blackmail, Bakshi came to be known as a financial blackmailer, asking the Indian Government to dish out as much money as possible in the name of keeping Kashmiri Muslims on the right side.

Meanwhile, the Plebiscite Front came on the scene. It was an organisation of the supporters of the Sheikh. It was formed in 1954 by Mirza Afzal Beg, a comrade-in-arms of the Sheikh.

In 1957, G.M. Sadiq, Mir Qasim and G.L. Dogra, along with their Left-leaning supporters, became disillusioned with the Bakshi and opposed his method of governance, rampant corruption and strong-arm tactics of some of his supporters. In October, they resigned from the National Conference and formed a new political party known as the Democratic National Conference (DNC) which drew a number of young

men into its fold. The formation of the DNC resulted in a catharsis of pent-up feelings. It was for the first time that a pro-India opposition in the Valley was able to galvanise people on issues other than plebiscite.

Meanwhile, Sheikh Abdullah was released from prison in January 1958, but he continued to harbour the dream of an Independent Kashmir. He did not relent from his anti-Delhi stand. Attacking India — while having a good word for Pakistan — in an interview to the *Blitz*, a weekly newspaper, he said that his release was caused by international pressure on India. In his speeches at Srinagar later, he lashed out at Bakshi for being 'unfaithful' and assailed the DNC and its leaders as 'Indian agents' and 'greater enemies' of Kashmir. He was again arrested and charged along with his comrades with subversion and sedition against the State.

In about two years, the enthusiasm of some of the DNC leaders began to wane and they rejoined the Bakshi camp. Nehru and other Congress leaders too, persuaded the DNC leaders to dissolve the party and troop back to the National Conference. Thus an opportunity was lost to maintain a platform for the pro-India elements who were opposed to the National Conference. Such a forum could have acted as a safety valve by letting people ventilate their grievances and satisfy their democratic urges.

In 1963, under the Kamraj Plan, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was made to resign as the Prime Minister of J & K. Bakshi got Shamsuddin, one of his staunch supporters, elected in his place against the wishes of the Congress central leaders. He wished to indulge in backseat driving. Shamsuddin, however, could survive only for ninety-nine days in the wake of unrest following the theft of the holy relic from the Hazratbal shrine. The crisis was defused only after the restoration of the relic and its verification by religious leaders. The agitation had turned against the Bakshi.

The Congress leaders asked G.M.Sadiq to take over the reins of Government. Sadiq came with his new policy of liberalisation, promising democratic rights and seeking to win over volatile anti-India elements through discussion and debate. Attempts were even made not to discriminate against the children of the Plebiscite Front leaders and workers in matters of admission to higher educational institutions and Government recruitment. A formula was devised for admission in educational

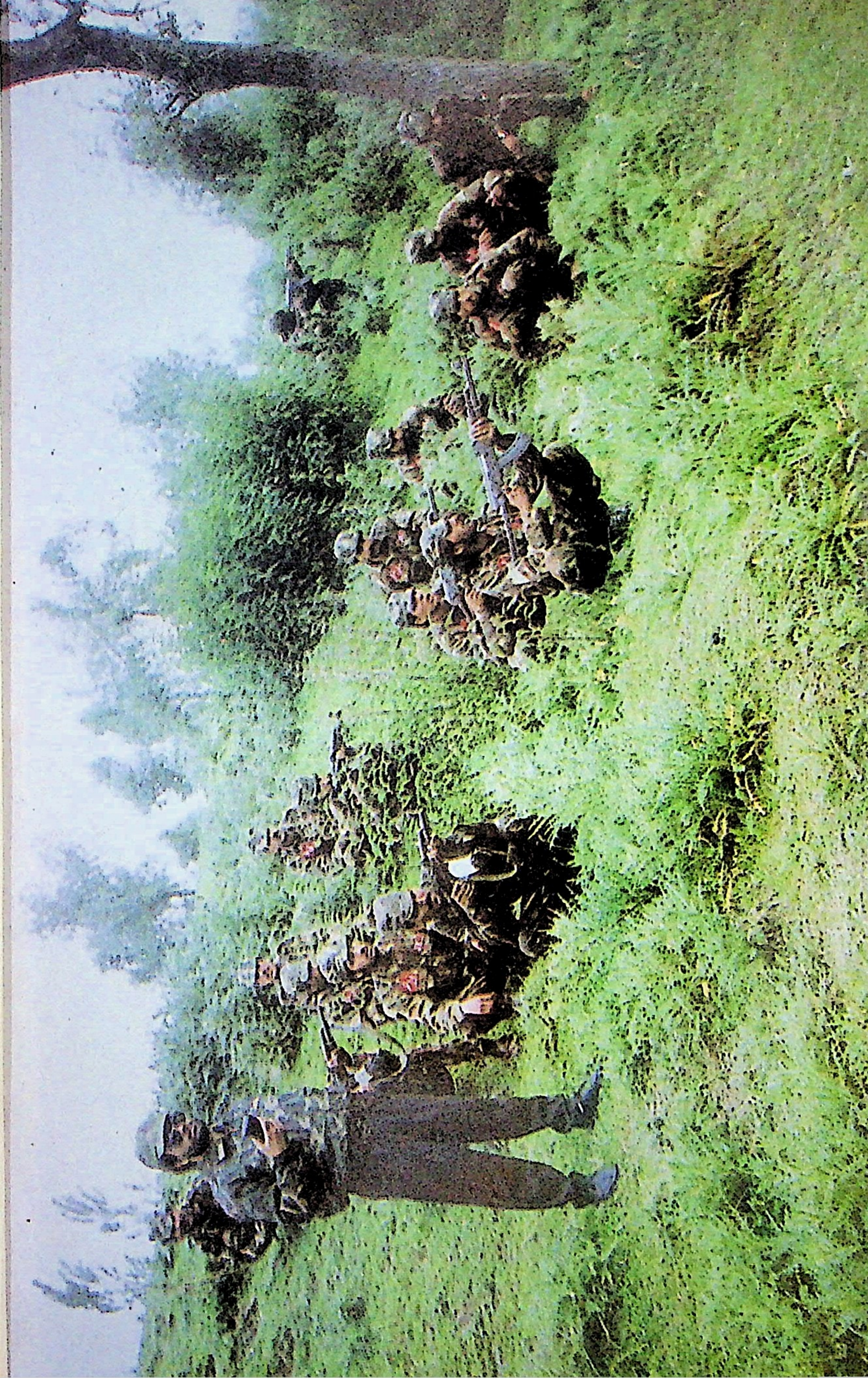
institutions and professional courses on a majority-minority basis — the ratio being 70 per cent for Muslims and 30 per cent for non-Muslims. Though such an approach helped to some extent in blunting the edge of the underground anti-India movement and in neutralizing the youth who were provided with jobs, it encouraged a large section of the separatists to come to the fore. Demonstrations against India on an unprecedented scale became the order of the day and for the first time the slogan — 'Indian dogs go back', was raised with impunity. Sadiq, too, resorted to the old stratagem of getting his party candidates elected unopposed in a bid to win the elections.

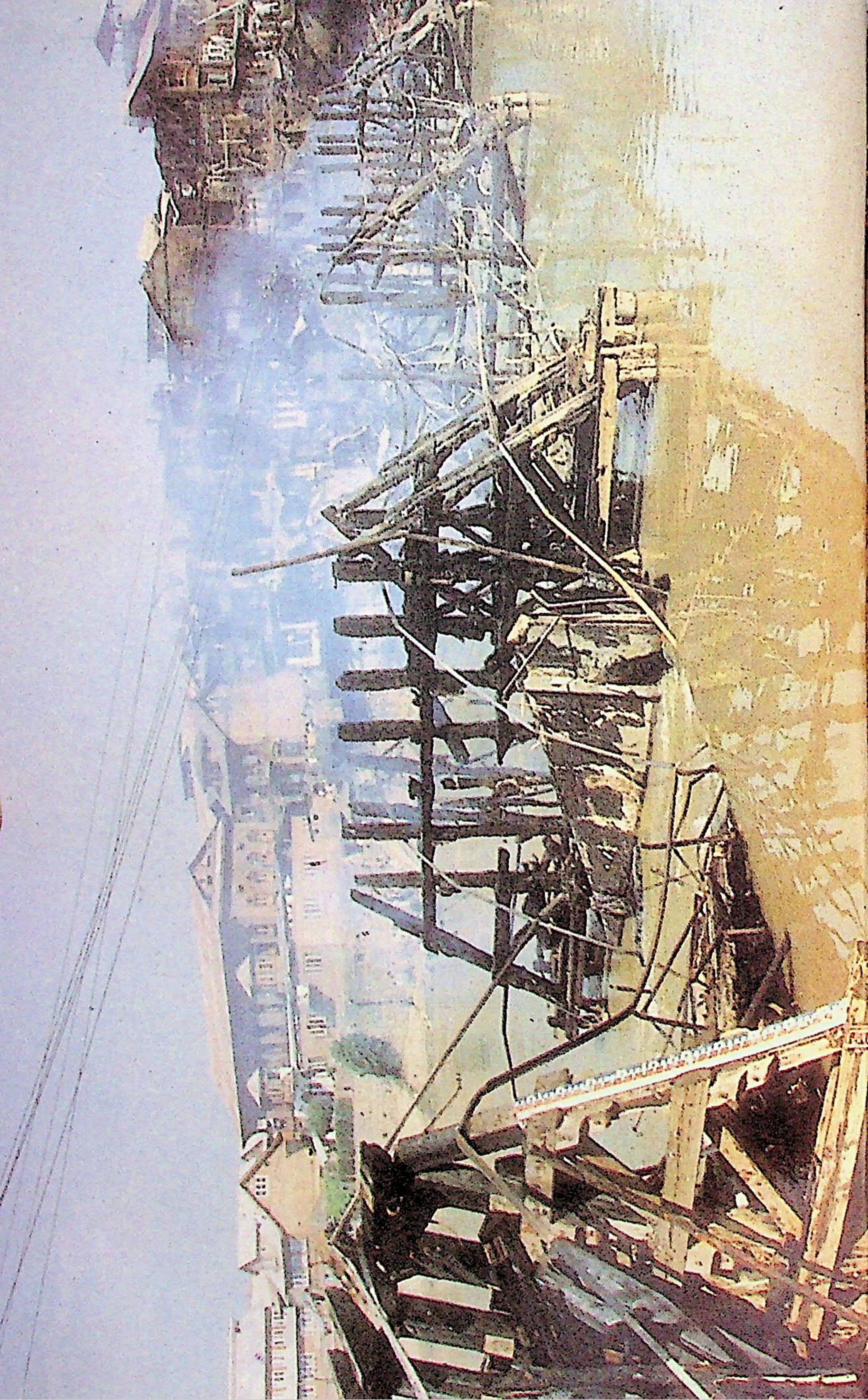
However, Sadiq took a number of measures to bring the State into the national mainstream. He was instrumental in getting the State constitution amended to have the nomenclature of the Head of the State changed to Governor from Sadr-i-Riyasat and that of the Head of the Government to Chief Minister (Wazir-e-Ala) from Prime Minister (Wazir-e-Azam). The Governor was now to be appointed by the President of India instead of being elected by the State Legislature. Further, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was extended to the State and several sections of the Indian Constitution were made applicable to it. The National Conference was merged with the Indian National Congress. Such steps helped in strengthening the political integration.

Sadiq died in 1971, a few days before the conclusion of the third Indo-Pak war and Syed Mir Qasim was sworn in as the Chief Minister. Although Qasim was secular yet during his time overt and covert support to the rabid communal organisations such as Jamaat-e-Islami, increased with the result that the Jamaat could get five of its members elected to the State Assembly in 1972. Anti-India forces gained in strength and the demand for plebiscite was raised with renewed fervour and with greater vehemance and frequency.

Discounting this impression, Mir Qasim wrote: "The Jamaat-e-Islami was creating doubts about the finality of Kashmir's accession to India. I told its leaders that this party would not be allowed to fight the elections because it had not accepted the accession. But they said that the impression was not correct. The Jamaat candidates would take an oath of loyalty to the Constitution of India as well as of Jammu & Kashmir.

"I also consulted Mrs.Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, on the



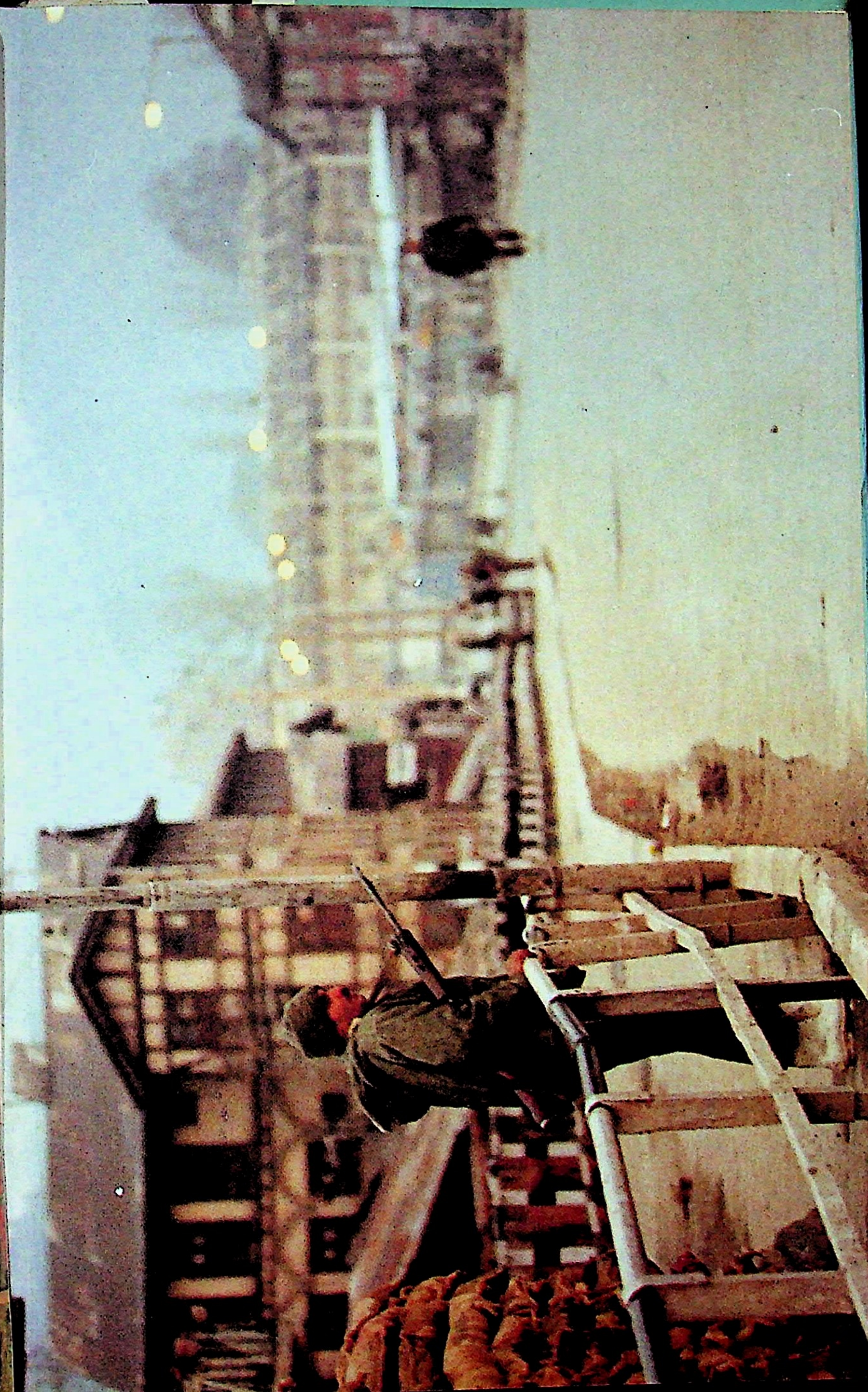







91 6 27







telephone on the question of debarring the Jamaat from the elections. Mrs Gandhi said, no; it would create a difficult situation for her in the rest of the country where the Hindu communal bodies like the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS), too, would have to be disqualified for elections. She told me she was already under pressure to ban the RSS. I said she could ban both the RSS and the Jamaat and in Kashmir I would do the same. She said, no.

"Still, I called the Jamaat leaders to tell them that their nomination papers would be rejected because they did not believe in the accession of Kashmir to India. But they stated that while filing the nomination forms they would take the oath of loyalty to the Indian as well as J&K constitutions. Thus they could take part in elections.

"They won a few seats and my detractors accused me of having connived with the Jamaat. But I had not. We were not responsible in any way for their electoral gains. Among the factors which favoured the Jamaat were attempts within the Congress to let down some Congress candidates at the elections.

"The Congress won by a big majority conceding 17 seats to the Opposition — the largest number the Opposition had so far got in the Kashmir Assembly. Out of 74 seats, the Congress won 57, the Jamaat 5, the Jan Sangh 3, and Independents 9. A few Independents later joined the Congress." (5)

In 1972, negotiations were initiated with Sheikh Abdullah and his colleague Mirza Afzal Beg. Mir Qasim claims to have helped the Sheikh and the Centre in signing the Kashmir Accord which saw the return of the Sheikh as the Chief Minister in February 1975.

Sheikh Abdullah was chosen as the leader of the House as Mir Qasim resigned to pave the way for him. However, he was not elected as the leader of the Congress Legislature Party. Even the Sheikh did not want it. The Congress merely extended its support to him.

Prior to it, Sheikh had spurned all efforts at reconciliation. But now that his arch foes, Bakshi and Sadiq, were dead. (He had asked the people to dig up Bakshi's grave and socially boycott latter's supporters and sympathisers. It is a different matter that after the death of Sheikh Abdullah, terrorists wanted to dig up the Sheikh's grave at Hazratbal and a round-the-clock vigil was kept to prevent it.) But with Pakistan's defeat

in the 1971 war and the emergence of Bangladesh, the Sheikh realized that he had no alternative left but to come to terms with reality and accept what the accord offered him.

By accepting the accord, the Sheikh had neither become a patriot overnight nor had he forgotten the past and forgiven his detractors. But being in power he could create difficulties for the Centre and this he did. His first act was to make some Muslim legislators of the Congress to defect to his side. Next, he cut off the subsidy given by the Centre on rations, asking people to tighten their belts rather than eat food at subsidised rates. He also reverted to his old game of double talk — criticising India in front of his Kashmiri audiences and being his sweet reasonable self while speaking to Indian newsmen or addressing audiences outside the Valley.

However, in the 1977 elections which have been described as fair and free by all observers, Sheikh Abdullah refused to have an alliance with the Congress. He had revived the National Conference. The Janata Party, which had come to power at the Centre replacing Indira Gandhi, and the Congress, too fought the elections. The Sheikh fought these elections on the issues of opening the Jhelum Valley road to Rawalpindi, assuring the withdrawal of the Indian Army from Kashmir and defeating "political parties of India". He revived the old *Sher-Bakra* feud between his supporters and those of Maulvi Farooq, the Mirwaiz of Kashmir.

The supporters of the Sheikh were described as *Sher* (Lion), while those of Mirwaiz used to be called *Bakra* (goat). After winning the elections, the toughs of the National Conference gave a hard time to the Janata Party supporters. *Bakras* had to flee their homes and seek shelter in safer places to escape the wrath of the furious enthusiasts of the National Conference. As for the Congress workers, the choicest epithets of 'vermin, insects, worms crawling in the drains' were reserved for them.

During the second phase of the Sheikh's rule (1977-'82) — which was the most peaceful period — obscurantist forces were encouraged. The administration was Islamised as far as possible. Friday prayers were offered in offices; cinema shows on Friday were cancelled during Namaz times. Every conscious effort was made to undermine the authority of the Indian union. Income-tax officials, who came to inquire into cases

of tax evasion by some big business houses in Kashmir, were not only denied police assistance, but were also physically manhandled by violent mobs organised by the goons of the ruling National Conference. IAS officials from outside the State were given insignificant postings, barring a few who did their biddings. Jamaat-e-Islami schools were not taken over as the Sheikh had promised earlier. On the other hand, lots of funds started pouring in from Pakistan and Arab countries for the Jamaat and its front organisations as well as the Jamaat-Ahle-Hadis.

In March 1980, the Jamaat-e-Islami played host to a delegation from Medina University in Saudi Arabia. The delegation was lavishly entertained by the Sheikh as well. Later, a member of the delegation, Professor Abdul Samad, felt encouraged to say at an open meeting at Hotel Lal Rukh (a State Government-owned hotel at Srinagar), "For an Islamic revolution we have to prepare the people individually and collectively. To achieve it we have to make sacrifices." In September the same year, the Amir of Jamaat-e-Islami of Pak-occupied Kashmir — Maulana Abdullah Bari — paid a visit to Kashmir and publicly proclaimed that Kashmiris were not a party to the Simla Agreement. It seemed that the Maulana had come to brief his counterpart in Kashmir on General Zia's "Operation Topac". However, on the advice of the Central Government, he was asked to leave the Valley within 24 hours.

Under a pretext or another a number of new police battalions were raised. Some of these battalions recruited the Jamaat activists and even persons believed to be from across the Line of Control.

As an act of political expediency, the Sheikh resorted to Islamisation to prove himself as a true Muslim to the Kashmiri Muslims. The Government as well as Muslim Auqaf funds were spent on building impressive mosques and beautifying areas surrounding them. Property worth crores of rupees was built on Government land. The names of hundreds of Kashmiri villages and towns were changed so as to obliterate the traces of history and culture. Thus, the Sheikh helped, directly or indirectly, forces inimical to India and its secular character. He spent his last years in power to make India a suspect in the eyes of Kashmiri Muslims. That seems to be one of the reasons why he described all Kashmiri Pandits as agents of Intellegence Bureau(IB) in his autobiography *Aatish-e-Chinar* and castigated Indian secularism and Congress

leaders. Incidentally, the book was awarded the Sahitya Akademy Award.

Sheikh Abdullah no longer trusted his people. He even fell out with his alter ego, Mirza Afzal Beg. He did not have any confidence even in his son-in-law, G. M. Shah, who remained with him through thick and thin. At the fag end of his life, he declared his son, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, as his heir and appointed him the president of the National Conference. Addressing a public meeting to mark the occasion, he said, "I trust him and request you too to help him in doing the job. Like me, he would not betray your trust. What I have not been able to achieve, he will." Dr.Farooq adopted the style of his father. In 1984 following his ouster from power at the hands of his brother-in-law G. M. Shah, he did not hesitate in seeking the assistance from subversives and secessionists.

In September 1982, Sheikh Abdullah died and Dr.Farooq was made the Chief Minister ignoring the claims of the seniors in the party and even without taking the party legislators in confidence. Everything undemocratic was done — silently and swiftly — with the blessings of Indira Gandhi, Farooq being close to her son Rajiv.

Dr. Farooq's political education had started in U.K. where he came into contact with a JKLF group that had close links with the British secret agencies. He was in touch with the JKLF leader Amanullah Khan in London on the arrival of the latter, who fled from Pakistan to evade arrest. During his visit to Pakistan in 1973, Dr.Farooq went to Pak-occupied Kashmir and took an oath to 'liberate' Kashmir in a ceremony organised by the JKLF. He also administered such an oath to a number of other young men present there. When Sheikh Abdullah had been accorded a reception in Kashmir after his return to power, Dr.Farooq too had joined the procession along with a number of his JKLF friends whom he had brought all the way from Britain and raised a new slogan :*Choon Desh, Myon Desh —Kashur Desh, Kashur Desh* (Your country, my country — Kashmir, Kashmir.)

As soon as he assumed office with the blessings of the Congress, he denounced his father's ministerial colleagues at a public meeting right in their presence and asked for the people's mandate to have a new team of 'honest and trustworthy' ministers. Fed up with corruption, people shouted the ministers down and made them run for their lives. Such freak

characteristics in the personality of Dr. Farooq continued to reflect throughout his political career.

He told the gathering that he would never compromise 'the dignity and honour' of Kashmiris, even if it meant 'fighting the mighty India'. Within three months of coming to power, he showed his true colours and started taking anti-Congress stance by aligning with the national opposition parties as a tactical move to make his position comfortable. He allowed his State to become a backyard of Punjab terrorists who poured in in large numbers.

He accused India of fomenting communal trouble and declared that Kashmiri Muslims were not safe in India. Before Indian political leaders and mediamen, he always tried to present himself as an Indian patriot hounded by Indira Gandhi and her Congress party; while in Kashmir, he joined hands with the arch rival of the Abdullah family — Maulvi Farooq — and entered into a pact called as the "Double Farooq" Accord.

As the 1983 Assembly elections drew near, he started fulminating against India in full swing and the Centre became a whipping boy, for every ill in the Valley, at his hands. Addressing election meetings he said, "We are fighting the Congress. Its defeat will mean the defeat of the Central power that wants to subjugate Kashmiris." As usual, barring the solitary exception of 1977, elections in Kashmir were rigged. Communal passions were aroused to a frenzy. Dr.Farooq's party won most of the predominantly Muslim constituencies on an anti-India and anti-Hindu platform, while the Congress was successful in most of the Jammu areas by playing the Hindu card.

In spite of his gimmicks, Dr.Farooq failed to create any impact as an administrator, spending most of his time in pleasure pursuits. His cavalier attitude and frivolous manner cost him his seat, as Mrs.Gandhi eased him out by engineering defections with the help of G.M.Shah. Supported by the Congress, the defectors formed a new Government in July 1984, though Governor Jagmohan had recommended the dissolution of the State Assembly and imposition of the Governor's rule.

Shah's installation as Chief Minister was another inglorious chapter in the political history of Kashmir. No wonder, it proved costly for India. Even people opposed to Dr.Farooq were not happy with Shah and his ways. During his rule, the State slumped into chaos and confusion. Bomb

blasts and subversion became the order of the day and normal life frequently came to a standstill due to frequent imposition of curfew. It is believed that it was the handiwork of the JKLF activists, at the instigation of Dr. Farooq, to queer the pitch for Shah.

The installation of the Shah Government, which was a puppet in the hands of the Congress(I), resulted in the growth of fundamentalist forces and separatist tendencies besides evolution of the 'Ummet-e-Islamia' — comprising Jamaat, Shia Rabita(contact) committee, the Islamic Study circle, Jamiat-e-Tulba and certain segments of the Jamaat-Ahle-Hadis.(6)

In February 1986, riots broke out in southern Kashmir, particularly in Anantnag district, against the minuscule minority of Kashmiri Pandits. Fundamentalists went on a spree of loot and arson and desecration of temples to terrorise the helpless Pandit community. Barring a handful of old nationalist Muslims, none including the administration, came to the rescue of the victims. Any stern action against the then Deputy Commissioner and Superintendent of Police of Anantnag district was opposed by some religious hot-heads and political extremists. The development provided an excuse to the Congress(I) to withdraw support to the Shah Government. Shah fell as he could hold the office only as long as the Congress (I) desired. Though arrogant he was an able administrator.

Throughout this period when Dr.Farooq was out of power, he successfully feigned an injured innocence and tried to gain the sympathy of the national opposition leaders and the media. Like his father, he had two faces to show the people. His anti-India face was meant for his supporters, while he successfully projected himself as a well-wisher of India to his friends in the opposition as well as in the Congress.

The Governor's rule came as a boon to the people who were fed up with corruption and misgovernance. With the Governor in-charge, things started moving in Kashmir. People's grievances got redressed without delay and corruption eliminated to a large extent. The Governor attempted to make the officials responsible for their jobs in order to solve the problems faced by the common man. Problems such as scarcity of water and shortage of power — that had been plaguing the State for years — were remedied. In a short period of about six months, Jagmohan captured the hearts of the Kashmiri people who were impressed by his

administrative acumen. Yet, there were some persons — politicians, power-brokers, black-marketeers, corrupt officials, drug-peddlers and exploiters of all hues — who were not happy with him. These people started ganging up and spreading canards against him. Some called him 'a Muslim baiter' as his axe in the first take fell on corrupt Hindu officials and some described him as a 'Hindu chauvinist' who did a lot of work for the Vaishno Devi shrine in the Jammu region, while some recollected his Turkman Gate episode at Delhi during the Emergency. These allegations, however, made little dent in the public opinion as people for the first time saw things being done. Even Dr. Farooq, who was once again sworn in as the Chief Minister following Farooq-Rajiv Accord, said at the time of the oath-taking ceremony, "Governor Sahib, we would need you very badly. It is indeed, amazing that such remarkable work could be done by you in a short time through an imbecile and faction-ridden bureaucracy. Please do not hesitate to pull my ears if I go wrong. If today three ballot boxes are kept — one for the National Conference, one for the Congress and one for you, your ballot box would be full, while the other two would be empty."

In November 1986, the Governor's rule was brought to an end. Dr. Farooq was brought back as the Chief Minister following an accord between Rajiv Gandhi and Dr. Farooq Abdullah — the third between the Nehru dynasty and the Abdullahs. The Congress(I) supported Dr. Farooq. The Legislative Assembly which had been kept suspended, was dissolved and fresh elections were scheduled for March 23, 1987.

All the political parties, including a large number of political groups, were suddenly activated. On one side there was the partnership and coalition of the National Conference and the Congress (I) and on the other, a combination of parties — such as the Jamaat-e-Islami, the Ummet-e-Islamia led by Qazi Nisar and other smaller groups — primarily united by the cementing force of Islam. Maulvi Abbas Ansari was the convenor of this group, known as the Muslim United Front (MUF). People's Conference of A.G. Lone and the Awami Action Committee of Maulvi Farooq were also in the fray but they had not joined the MUF. However, they subscribed to Islamic fundamentalism. The parties in the MUF wanted to win the elections as a united group and, therefore, they began electioneering with a joint manifesto and a common election

symbol. The approach of the MUF and its manifesto attracted a lot of adherents and fellow travellers amongst Muslim leaders and intellectuals in the Valley. The MUF ideology was discussed in every Muslim home and the party stalwarts made it known that the MUF victory, in fact, was the victory for Islam.

Every nook and corner was flooded with green flags of the MUF. The sight of the crescent and the star on the green flags of the MUF made people literally dance with joy. The people were told that with the victory of the MUF the entire face of the State would change. There would be prosperity and abundance of everything, including industries, jobs and work for all. The other promises which made people fall instantly for the MUF, related to the eradication of corruption, profiteering, hoarding and black-marketing. Those found guilty of such nefarious acts would be dealt with severely. People sincerely believed that this would happen because under Nizam-e-Mustafa (Islamic rule) such guilty persons may lose their limbs as punishment. People were indeed sick of these evils in society. (7)

Instead of fighting with the MUF politically, the National Conference-Congress (I) combine resorted to the old game of rigging the elections. It was not exposed that S. A. S. Geelani, a top leader of the MUF, had his son admitted in MBBS course from the Chief Minister's quota and that the son of A. G. Lone, another pro-secessionist leader, started a lucrative business at New Delhi. Instead, the National Conference workers boasted that they would win the elections anyhow, whether people voted for them or not. Dr. Farooq was jittery from the very beginning.

Had the MUF won a few seats, particularly from the urban areas, there would not have been a major change in Kashmiri politics. Even leaders of the MUF expected to win not more than 10 seats. Rigging — that was the highlight of the 1987 elections — agitated MUF workers. And more so with the inordinate delay in the announcement of results of Amira Kadal, Shopian and Bijbehara constituencies which eventually were bagged by the National Conference. In some cases in Srinagar city, MUF workers, too, resorted to booth-capturing and rigging.

The MUF gained tremendous public sympathy for their cause — more than what it could have achieved by winning a handful of legitimate

seats.

Barring a solitary exception of the 1977 Assembly elections, rigging punctuated every election in the State, particularly the Valley. However, in 1987, fundamentalists got an opportunity on a platter to whip up anti-Indian feelings. Had the 1987 elections been fair, secessionists would have invented another reason to advance their nefarious designs. The people surmised that Rajiv Gandhi and Dr.Farooq deliberately took away their right to vote and betrayed them by massive rigging. The MUF came in for favourable mention in every home, in every office and in every lane and bylane of Kashmir. People began to perceive bad administration, rigged elections, etc. as a consequence of Kashmir's accession to India.

The stage-managed defeat of some of the MUF candidates paved the way for onset of terrorism in the Valley. Out of 76, the National Conference (Farooq) won 36 seats, the Congress(I) in alliance with the National Conference 24, the MUF 4, the BJP 2 and Independents 4. Elections for three constituencies were postponed. The situation continued to drift further as no effective measures were taken.

In his monthly report to the President of India for February 1989, Governor Jagmohan, mentioned: "The call given by subversive elements for observing January 26 as a Black Day was fully responded and the hartal (strike) was total. The communal, parochial and subversive elements are becoming more active and the administration is getting more isolated. Neither the National Conference nor the Congress(I) is showing any inclination to face the challenge at the political level. A large amount of arms and ammunition brought from across the border has also yet to be recovered. The local intelligence network, as reported earlier, is not proving equal to the occasion. Moreover, the subversive elements enjoy overt as well as covert support of a sizeable section of the politicians, particularly those belonging to the Jamaat-e-Islami, the People's Conference, the People's League and the Mahaz-e-Azadi."

In March, 1989, Jagmohan, inter alia, recorded: "The gathering storm on the political horizon of the State to which reference has been made in my earlier reports has burst in the Valley. My worst apprehensions are coming true. The situation is fast deteriorating. It has almost reached a point of no return. During the period under report, there has been

large-scale violence, arson, firing, hartal, casualties and what not."

In a letter to the Prime Minister next month, Jagmohan wrote; "The things have truly fallen apart. Talking of the Irish crisis, British Prime Minister Disraeli had once said, 'It is potatoes one day and the Pope next'. Similar is the present position in Kashmir. Yesterday, it was 'Maqbool Butt'; today it is 'Satanic Verses'; tomorrow it will be the 'repression day'; and day after, it will be something else.

"The Chief Minister (Dr.Farooq) stands isolated. He has already fallen politically as well as administratively; perhaps, only constitutional rites remain to be performed. His clutches are too soiled and rickety to support him. Personal aberrations have also eroded his public standing.

"The situation calls for effective intervention. Today may be timely; tomorrow may be too late."

In another letter to the Prime Minister in May, Jagmohan stated: "From May 8 to 13, there have been 14 bomb blasts and six cases of firing and cross-firing(exchange of fire).Four persons died and about 20 were injured. A tourist bus proceeding from Gulmarg to Srinagar was fired upon and four tourists were injured. The current administrative and political structure has once again proved unequal to the task. During the hartal period, no worthwhile activity has been visible at the political front to counter the move of subversionists is swelling their ranks, and the animosity is being diverted against the Central authorities. I have indicated my anxiety to the Chief Minister."

In his monthly report for May to the President of India, Jagmohan had, inter alia, indicated: "The youth is sullen and angry. It is taking refuge under religion whose appeal helps it to gain sympathy and support of the common folk. The main secessionist outfit, the J&K Liberation Front has already announced setting up of ten hit squads. It has also claimed support of the Islamic Jamhuri Itihad (IJI) of Pakistan. It has announced in a handout that 'Al Jehad ' hit squad will be headed by Javed Ahmed Mir, 'Humza' squad by Abdul Ghaffar, 'Victory Commandos' by Muzaffar Shah, 'Aizaz Jan baz Commando Force' by Ghulam Hasan Lone, 'Shaheed Zia Tigers' by Mohammad Asraf, 'Al Fateh squad' by Javed Ahmed, 'Sada-i-Janbaz' commando force by Abdul Hamid, 'Al Maqbool' by Safed Rasool Aqadhan and 'Pak.Commando' force by Roofi Islam."

Instead of curbing such anti-national activities, Dr. Farooq's Government, in an attempt to buy peace with the subverters released as many as 70 hard-core terrorists between July and December 1989. Here is the 'roll-call of honour' in a few typical cases:

Mohammad Afzal Sheikh, son of Khazar Mohammad, resident of Trehgam — a detenue under the Public Safety Act. He crossed over to Pakistan clandestinely and, stayed in the house of his brother-in-law, namely Ghulam Mohmmad Wani, settled in Pak-occupied-Kashmir at Athmuqam. He went to Kachi Ghari, Peshwar, Pakistan for training. In Muzaffarabad (PoK) he met Javed Maqbool Butt and Showkat Maqbool Butt, sons of late Maqbool Butt with the help of Amanullah Khan, chairman of the JKLF. He also came across Abdul Ahad Waza who is one of the top leaders of the JKLF. He took an oath of allegiance at Muzaffarabad and filled up a form in which he affixed a thumb impression with his blood. He was responsible for causing two bomb blasts causing damages to buses. His detention was confirmed by the Advisory Board, headed by the Chief Justice of the J&K High Court.

Mohammad Ayub Najar found with terrorists owing allegiance to the JKLF and other PoK based organisations, had opened fire at Jama Masjid on August 25, 1989. He was detained under the Public Safety Act. The Advisory Board confirmed his detention. As a result of the meeting held on December 8, the date on which Dr. Rubayya Sayeed was kidnapped, it was decided in the office chamber of the then Agriculture Minister Mohammad Shafi(Uri) that the detenus be released and accordingly he was released in December along with 45 other detenus.

These persons were highly motivated terrorists and were trained in handling weapons and ammunition; they had contacts at the highest level in PoK, and they knew all the devious routes of going to and returning from Pakistan. Here were the persons who had the practical experience of all aspects of terrorism — training, border-crossing and smuggling weapons from Pakistan into Kashmir. Their detention was approved by the three member Advisory Board, headed by the Chief Justice of the J&K High Court. But yet, they were released when terrorism in the State was attaining its peak. Was it not a conspiracy, foolhardiness or a subtle way of keeping the feet in both the camps by the then rulers? The net result is for every one to see — virtual rule of the gun and gruesome

killings of the innocents.

The political developments in Kashmir in the post-Independence period bear testimony to the fact that whenever the National Conference found its political hold weakening due to the non-performance or mis-performance, it always adopted anti-Centre, pro-Pak or pro-independence stance. Even the all India services were openly referred to as the East India Company by the National Conference workers.

In fact, Dr. Farooq's Government had abdicated its responsibility much before December 1989 and various terrorist outfits had taken control of the Valley. None recall the funds, pumped in by the Centre to keep the people in the State happy, while every failure was conveniently attributed to the Central Government. Such accusations for all political ills in the State were not always unfair as the Centre also lacked a consistent policy on Kashmir. Moreover, the Centre under every Congress rule systematically liquidated secular, democratic and progressive forces and individuals in the Valley. The politicians in the State, irrespective of their hues, gathered an impression over the years that New Delhi understands only two languages — the language of violence and the language of pro-Pakistan demonstrations.

It is recalled by observers that even Kashmiri Pandits had to raise 'hail Pakistan' and 'Long live President Ayub' slogans in the mid-sixties during the regime of G.M.Sadiq when their 25-day-long agitation on the 'abduction' of Parmeshwari Handoo, a Kashmiri Pandit girl with a Muslim boy and her conversion to Islam later, failed to evoke any response from the State Government. Even the Station House Officer of the concerned police station cared to meet the agitators only after pro-Pakistan slogans were raised by them. Not only this but the then Union Home Minister Y.B. Chavan also flew to Srinagar to take stock of the situation following this development.

Similarly, every economic movement in the Valley during the last few years was conveniently dubbed as anti-national by the successive State Government. Such an attitude of the State, often endorsed by the Centre, increased the animosity of the local population towards New Delhi. Instead of acting as a buffer between the two extremes — the ruling minority and the hostile majority — the Centre continued with its act of corrupting the local politicians or luring them to join the ruling

clique. But it is also a fact that secessionist forces always used every agitation to advance their game. Even in the agitation protesting the hike in the electricity tariff, led by the Congress(I), slogans such as 'Hail Pakistan' were raised with impunity.

It is indeed intriguing that when the State's administrative machinery had come to a standstill, Dr. Farooq chose to be away on foreign jaunts. Equally intriguing is the manner in which pistols and small arms, issued to the National Conference workers found their way to terrorists.

In the meantime, Jagmohan had relinquished charge as the Governor on July 12, 1989 following the completion of his five-year term. However, he was recalled as Governor when the Union Government, headed by V.P.Singh, rose from its slumber in the wake of menacing threat from terrorists. He assumed the second term on January 19, 1990 and was called back by the Centre on May 26 following the assassination of Maulvi Farooq a few days earlier. He was replaced by G. C. Saxena, a former police officer who was also called back by the Centre in March 1993. But the situation remains far from normal and the writ of terrorists continues to rule the State.

Working in tandem, the terrorist, fundamentalist and secessionist outfits are guided by Zia's 'Operation Topac' for their strategy which in a nutshell is:

1. Spread fear and terror;
2. Spread half-truths and falsehoods;
3. Demoralise political opponents;
4. Gain active support of Muslim personnel in police and bureaucracy in the name of Islam and Jehad;
5. Suppress all dissent through threats, bomb blasts or shoot-outs;
6. Indulge in selective killings of non-Muslims and scare them away through verbal or written warnings;
7. Indulge in arson, loot and destruction of liquor shops, bars, clubs, video parlours, beauty parlours, etc. as all these are un-Islamic;
8. Ensure strict adherence to Islamic rules of conduct, for instance, purdah in case of women;

9. Eliminate Indian intelligence personnel, particularly non-Muslims;
10. Burn down Government and private schools run by non-Muslims and promote Jamaat schools;
11. Do not allow any political activity except that which is sanctioned by militant organisations;
12. Take control of local mosques and mullahs;
13. Ambush and attack security forces;
14. Kidnap VIPs and their relatives;
15. Assassinate political enemies and deserters.

It is also interesting to note that the Tashkent declaration following talks between India and Pakistan in the presence of the USSR in the wake of 1965 Indo-Pak war over Kashmir suggested that the Kashmir dispute should be put into cold storage. The armies of both the countries should withdraw to the positions they had occupied before the crisis erupted in August 1965. The declaration was signed on January 10, 1966 and the withdrawal of the armies behind the established international border and the 1949 Kashmir cease-fire line was implemented by late February.

In the Simla agreement, reached upon between India and Pakistan on July 2 in 1972 following the third Indo-Pak war over Kashmir in 1971, it was decided that in Jammu & Kashmir the 'Line of Control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17,1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterely, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat or use of force in violation of this line'. The new cease-fire line was later referred to as the Line of Control (LOC) or the Line of Actual Control (LOAC). It, in fact, became the de facto border between India and Pakistan.

However, the situation continued to drift further. Even a peep into the history of the Valley shows that Kashmir always suffered on account of intrigues by rulers, and their detractors as well.

References:

1. *Kashmir: The Storm of the World*, Bal Raj Madhok, P. 616-25.
2. Ibid, Lamb P. 143-144.
3. *Raiders in Kashmir, Story of the Kashmir War (1947-48)*, Major General Akbar Khan, P. 17.
4. *Looking Back*, Mehar Chand Mahajan, P. 269.
5. *My Life and Times*, Mir Qasim, P. 132-133.
6. *Understanding The Kashmir Insurgency*, Peer Giyas-ud-Din, P. 56.
7. *Kashmir: Behind the White Curtain*, Khem Lata Wakhlu, P. 320-21.

III

A Journey into History

"Our ancestors remain the same though we have undergone the process of conversion to Islam," retorted a Muslim Gujjar leader from J & K State. He was reacting to a query from a Hindu Gujjar leader from Northern India about the retention of 'Gotra' (sub-caste) even after conversion to Islam. Such instances abound in Kashmir. Even Sheikh Abdullah, the tallest among the Kashmiri leaders in modern history, once said, "My ancestors were Hindus. In Kashmir we have the same blood, all are brothers and continue to have the same culture." No wonder then that one notices bearded Muslims bowing in reverence whenever they pass by any one of the numerous temples in the Valley.

However, there is a general tendency, which has intensified amazingly during the recent years — to identify Kashmir with Islamic culture, completely disregarding the fact that it has been the cradle of Hindu civilization for over 2000 years and has played a significant role in the poliltical as well as cultural history of India. Such a misconception often leads to a growing susceptibility among uncritical minds to fall prey to the sustained campaign of falsification, unleashed by fundamentalist forces with the sinister design of creating a general amnesia about Kashmir's deep-rooted religious and cultural links with India. These forces are out to give credence to the assumption that the history of civilization in Kashmir actually started with its Islamisation in the 14th

century and that the sylvan valley has always been a part of the West Asian-Semitic-Islamic world rather than that of India.

In the wake of such onslaught of propaganda, it is forgotten that since the dawn of history, Kashmir has been looked upon with awe and admiration for high-level intellectual attaintments of its men and women. Even today, in most parts of India, Brahmins — in particular those from the Saraswat clan — make a symbolic gesture towards Kashmir as a seat of learning by chanting the hymn as a part of their morning oblation: 'Namaste Sharda Devi Kashmir-purvasini . . . (I bow before the Goddess Sharda who hails from Kashmir . . .).'

It also needs to be asserted here that the characteristic Kashmiri sense of values and ideals — or the Kashmiri ethos, to use a cliche — that found expression in the sayings of the great medieval saint-poets of Kashmir such as Lalleshwari (Lal Ded) and Sheikh Nuruddin Rishi has been shaped by the thought-process evolved over the centuries by the Hindu mind. In fact, the best that Kashmir has contributed in the realm of thought and culture bears an unmistakable and indelible stamp of the genius of its Hindu ancestors.

Culturally, Kashmir has been an inseparable part of the Indian sub-continent from the time of Vedas, perhaps even before it. The Rig Vedic Indians were fully acquainted with the Valley as a geographical entity and sang hymns to its rivers in the famous *Nadi Sukta* of the Rig Veda. The Kashmiri language itself has evolved from the Vedic dialect after passing through the Prakrit and Apabhransha stages like other modern Indo-Aryan languages. It retains, to even this day, the indelible traces of it in its phonetic and morphological structure, in spite of deliberate attempts at overwhelming it with words borrowed directly from Perso-Arabic sources.

Noteworthy references to Kashmir and its people are found in the Mahabharata, particularly in the Vana Parva, in which Pandavas have been shown to cross the Valley during their 12-year-long wandering. Panini, the father of Sanskrit grammar, has described Kashmir and its traditions in such vivid details that many scholars are inclined to believe that he belonged to this region.

Mahrishi Charak, the scholar-father of Ayurveda — indigenous system of medicine — too, was a Kashmiri. Kalidasa's description of the

Himalayan region — a most lyrical narration in the world of poetry — is so intimate that it is believed he too may have been born in Kashmir. Some scholars have even sought to establish the poet-ruler Matrigupta, who got the throne of Kashmir as a gift from the King of Ujjain, as none else than Kalidasa himself. Mohan Rakesh, the renowned Hindi playwright, based his famous play *Ashadh ka ek din* on this very assumption, taking his inspiration from yet another great Hindi playwright, Jaya Shankar Prasad. Dr. Bhagwat Sharan Upadhaya, an authority on Asian culture, is emphatic about Kalidasa having been born in Kashmir.

The moot point that underlines these assumptions and assertions is that Kashmir was considered to be a great seat of learning and a centre of intellectual activity throughout the ages and was treated with exceptional reverence because of this factor, till Islam overran it. Even Krishna showed awareness of the spiritual and intellectual merits of this land when out of reverence for it, he gave the throne of Kashmir to Yashomati, the widowed queen of Damodara. This is the note on which Kalhana, the great historian, begins his account of Kashmir, taking the cue from the *Nilamata Purana*, a fifth or sixth century work that throws significant light on the religious, cultural, social and political life in ancient Kashmir.

The *Nilamata Purana* describes the Valley's genesis from the waters, a fact corroborated by prominent geologists, and shows how the very name of the land was derived from the process of desiccation — *Ka* means water and *Shimir* means to desiccate. Hence, Kashmir stands for a land desiccated from water. There is also a theory which takes Kashmir to be a contraction of 'Kashyapmir' or 'Kashyapmeru', the sea or mountain of Kashyapa, the sage who is credited with having drained the waters of the primordial lake 'Satisar', that Kashmir was before it was reclaimed. The *Nilamata Purana* gives the name 'Kashmira' to the Valley considering it to be an embodiment of Uma and it is the Kashmir that the world knows today. The Kashmiris, however, call it Kashir, which has been derived phonetically from Kashmir, as pointed out by Aurel Stein in his introduction to the *Rajatarangini*.

Hailed by Buhler as a real mine of information regarding the legends and sacred places of Kashmir, the *Nilamata Purana* is a virtual en-

cyclopaedia on life in ancient and early medieval Kashmir. It shows Kashmiris to be 'an ever sportive and joyful people, enjoying continuous festivities'. "Living amidst sylvanic surroundings they were in tune with nature and played, danced and sang to express their joys, to mitigate their pains, to please their gods and to appease their demons," as Dr. Ved Kumari Ghai puts it.

Coming from mytho-history to history, the great historian Kalhana has recorded how Kashmir became a part of the Mauryan empire under Ashoka who founded the old city of Srinagar (Shrinagri as he called it) and built 500 Buddhist monastries, giving away entire Kashmir as a gift to the Buddhist Sangha. It was, however, Buddha himself who had deputed his celebrated apostle Majjhantika to spread the doctrine in Kashmir along with 500 other monks in the beginning of the Christian era. He chose to settle down in the land. According to the local belief, Buddha himself visited Kashmir.

Ashoka settled 5,000 Buddhist monks in the Valley and gifted it away to the Sangha to be used for pursuing higher studies and spiritual practices. Several races entered Kashmir later. The historical evidences point out the settlement of immigrants of Persian, Greek and Turkish descent, the latter coming before and during Kanishka's rule.

When Kashmir was under the influence of Buddhism, hundreds of 'Bhikshus' went to distant lands to preach the new religion. In return, a large number of Buddhist scholars came from Tibet, China and Central Asia, most of whom settled in the Valley permanently.

The ethnography of the region surrounding the Valley is clearly traced in the *Rajatarangini*. In the south and west the adjacent hill regions were occupied by the Khasas. Their settlement extended in a semi-circle from Kishtwar to the Jhelum Valley in the west. In the north of the Jhelum valley, as far as Muzaffarabad, the Bombas were the neighbours of the Khasas (later Khakhas). The upper Kishenganga Valley, above the famous shrine of Sharda Devi, was inhabited by the Dards. Megasthenese already knew them to be in the Upper Indus region.

Ashoka died in about B.C. 232. His son, Jaluka, was less enthusiastic about Buddhism. In fact, he was a devotee of Shiva. He cleared the land of Malechas (foreigners), who were probably Indo-Greek hordes and had made incursions into the Valley. After a reign of 60 years, he was

succeeded by Damodara, who also supported Shaivism. Damodar Udar, a city founded on a plateau on the outskirts of Srinagar, is still known by the same name. The Srinagar aerodrome now lies there in its place.

Buddhism continued to flourish in Kashmir, notwithstanding the loss of royal patronage. There was a revival of the faith during the reigns of the three Kushan (Indo-Scythian) kings — Kanishka, Hushka and Jushka. Their identities have been confirmed by coins and manuscripts unearthed in excavations as well as continued existence of cities of Kanishkapur, Hushkapur and Jushkapur. These monarchs were also great builders of temples and viharas (monasteries). These monuments bear out the great attainments of Kashmiris in architecture and sculpture.

Kashmir figured prominently in the history of Buddhism during Kanishka's time: A historical council of Buddhist divines and theologians was held in a monastery near Srinagar. The council accorded a superior status to the Mahayana school which was thus born in Kashmir. Its message was taken from there by scholar-monks and missionaries. The commentaries were deposited by Kanishka in a special stupa.

The sway of Buddhism did not last long in Kashmir. The traditional Brahmanic learning, in the form of the Shaivite sect of Hinduism, was revived in the reign of Abhimanyu I. He founded a town named Abhimanyupur now known as Bamyun (near Srinagar). There he built a temple dedicated to Lord Shiva. Gonanda III, the founder of the Gonanda dynasty, and five of his successors, initiated an anti-Buddhist campaign, which reached its climax in the reign of Nara, the sixth in the lineage. Four more rulers followed but only their names are known.

The white Hun, Mihirkula, seized the throne of Kashmir in 515 A.D. He is still remembered for his acts of gross cruelty. He favoured Shaivism at the cost of Buddhism. He built a shrine of Shiva near Srinagar. The kings who followed him were virtuous. One of the descendants, Gopaditya, is said to have built the temple on the Gopa Hill, now called the Shankaracharya Hill, in Srinagar.

Another king worth mentioning — Parvasena II (who conquered Kashmir in A.D. 580, the date confirmed by Hieun Tsang), founded Pravarsen (shortened to Pravarapura), the site of the present city of Srinagar. He died after a rule of 60 years.

The reign of Durlabhavardhana (A.D. 625-661), who established the Karkota dynasty, is borne out by his coins. Hieun Tsang visited the country during his rule and found remarkable religious tolerance prevailing everywhere. Buddhism existed side by side with Hinduism. Pratapaditya II (A.D. 661-711), the son of Durlabhavardhana, ascended the throne after his father's death. He founded a town, Pratapapura, now called Tapar. It is situated 25 km to the west of Srinagar.He was succeeded by his eldest son, Chandrapida (A.D. 711-719), who is mentioned in the Chinese annals. Renowned for acts of piety and justice, Chandrapida and his queen founded a number of temples. The rule of Tarapida, the second son of Pratapaditya, for four years (A.D. 719-724) was marked by his cruel and oppressive deeds.

The third son of Pratapaditya, namely, Muktapida, then ascended the throne. Better known as Lalitaditya, his reign (A.D. 724-761) was marked by conquests over a considerable portion of the Indian mainland and large tracts of the Central Asian regions. After subjugating the principalities around the kingdom of Kashmir, he is reputed to have conquered Punjab, Kannauj, Tibet, Badakshan and nearby territories. Kalhana records that during Lalitaditya's rule, his victories were annually celebrated. Al Beruni remarks: "The second of Chaitra is a great festival day in Kashmir in honour of victory of its king over the Turks." Historians have compared him with his contemporaries, Charlmagne the Great and Harun-al-Rashid. He ushered in an era of national glory and prosperity.

Buddhism and Hinduism, the two prominent religions of his time equally received Lalitaditya's patronage. He constructed temples dedicated to the Buddha as well as for Shiva, Vishnu and other Hindu gods. He liberally patronised men of letters. Many famous learned men of India and other countries adorned his court. They included great Sanskrit scholars like Vakpatiraja and Bhavabhuti. Lalitaditya was a great builder. He built the world famous temple at Martand (dedicated to the Sun), whose impressive ruins bear testimony to the splendour of those days. Similarly, his capital city (Parihaspura — now called Paraspur — near Shadipur), presents a testimony of the massive architectural works. He also built towns to commemorate his foreign expeditions. The Martand temple set the model for the Kashmiri Hindu architecture.

Though his military exploits made Lalitaditya a hero to Kashmiris, his works for public welfare were no less outstanding. The blocking passages of the Jhelum were cleared at Baramulla and reclaimed to abate the perennial threat of floods during his time. He also constructed a number of irrigation canals. Lalitaditya was equally fond of good things in life. Once, in an inebriated state, he ordered the beautiful city of Pravarsena to be burnt down. His wise ministers managed to save the town by putting haystacks on fire instead. Not satisfied with his conquests, Lalitaditya set out on new conquests and lost his life during one of them.

Lalitaditya was followed by a succession of weak kings. The power and prestige of the Karkota dynasty were on the wane, until his grandson, Jayapida, ascended the throne towards the end of the 8th century A.D. He ruled for 31 years. He, too, went on expeditions, defeating the king of Kannauj, among others. He built a city, Jayapura, near the present Sumbal. A patron of art and letters, Jayapida himself studied Sanskrit grammar. Among his ministers was Vamana, one of the two authors of *Kashikavrtti*—the famous commentary on Panini's well-known Sanskrit grammar.

The following half-century witnessed the installation and dethronement of puppet kings. The intrigues of rival factions at the court, which resulted in corruption in high places and oppression of the people, ceased with the coming to power of Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883), who founded the Utpala dynasty. His peaceful and just reign was a period of consolidation as Kashmir once again attained great heights in the realms of philosophy, literature, art and architecture.

Batta Kallata, the pupil of Vasagupta, the founder of the Spandasastra branch of Shaiva philosophy in Kashmir; Kavi Ratnakar, the author of the *Haravijaya*; and Anandavardhana, the author of *Dhvanyaloka* were among the great scholars and poets who enjoyed Avantivarman's liberal patronage. The town, Sopore (then Suyyapura)—which Suyya, the engineer in the court of Avantivarman, built on the banks of the Jhelum, commemorates his name. Suyya also changed the course of the Jhelum so that it flowed through the Wular Lake, thus further relieving the congestion that used to cause floods.

Avantivarman is still remembered for founding the city of Avan-

tipura, 17 km from Srinagar on the banks of the Jhelum and called by the same name today. Before he ascended the throne, he had built there the shrine of Vishnu Avantisvamin. During his rule, he constructed a temple dedicated to Shiva Avanteshwara. Their ruins, on the Jammu-Srinagar highway, are among the most imposing monuments of ancient Kashmir, ranking next only to the Martand Temple.

Avantivarman's son, Sankaravarman (A.D. 883-902), had to free himself from the claimants to the throne. He led foreign expeditions to Trisarta (the present Kangra) and Gurjara. These expeditions depleted the royal treasury and Sankaravarman resorted to fiscal exactions and plunder of temples. He is ingloriously remembered for introducing *begar* — forced and unpaid labour — for transport and other purposes, which continued, in one form or another, until the beginning of the 20th century.

From his reign onward, the record is one of a long succession of struggles between the rulers and usurping uncles, cousins, brothers, ministers, nobles and soldiers. During the tenth century, the kingship changed hands as many as 18 times. Tantrine, a military caste of uncertain origin, rose to become a power that made and unmade kings. Damaras, the landed aristocracy, also had a big say in the affairs of the State. The people of the Valley secured a temporary respite from civil wars during the short rule of Yasaksara (A.D. 939-948), who was elected to kingship by an assembly of Brahmins.

The next monarch — after two kings — Kshemagupta (A.D. 950-958) was a debauch. His wife, Didda, the daughter of Simharaja, the chief of Lohara, became regent after his death, placing his infant son, Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-972), on the throne. The reins of the state remained in her hands during this and other regency periods, until she ascended the throne herself in A.D. 981. Altogether, she ruled for 50 years, until A.D. 1003, wielding power with strength and curbing rebellions with courage and intrepidity. Didda possessed a lust for power which was compounded only by her political sagacity, courage and administrative ability. The Kashmiris still use the term 'Didda' (or Ded) for mother or a lady who is highly regarded.

Her nephew, Sangramaraja (A.D. 1003-28) ascended the throne after Didda's death, thus establishing the rule of the Lohara dynasty. Three centuries of the reign of the two Lohara dynasties comprised of petty

court intrigues, unrelieved by any notable achievements. It was only King Harsha (A.D. 1089-1101), the last king of the first Lohara dynasty, who turned out to be a striking figure. A man of exceptional prowess, he was a curious combination of a poet and a Bohemian par excellence. His luxurious living and bouts of merry-making caused a great depletion of royal treasury. Kalhana, whose father had served at the court of Harsha, had observed the unseemly happenings for himself. Harsha was displaced by his brother, Uchala, with the help of the Damaras — the feudal landlords.

Uchala, who belonged to another line of the Loharas, thus founded the second Lohara dynasty. He was killed by traitors (December 8, 1111), and succeeded by his brother Sussala (A.D. 1112-1120). The palace rot and intrigues continued even in the reign of Jayasimha (the son of Sussala). During his rule (A.D. 1128-1155) Kalhana wrote the Rajatarangini.

The six rulers who followed Jayasimha, covering a period of about a-century-and-a-half, witnessed a period of further decline, marked by a succession of rebellious and internecine disturbances. According to Jonaraja's chronicle, Hindu rule maintained itself in Kashmir for nearly two centuries.

By the time Sahadeva (A.D. 1301-20) ascended the throne, Islam had entered the Valley and many people had accepted the new faith. Sahadeva, a weak-minded king, fled to Kishtwar when Dulchu — a Tartar chief from Central Asia, said to be a descendant of Chenghiz Khan — invaded the Valley in A.D. 1319. His minister, Ramachandra, aided by his protégé, Shah Mir, a Muslim adventurer from Swat, consolidated the affairs of the state. He was also aided by Rinchin, a fugitive prince from Tibet. He was a Buddhist but later embraced Islam. He was assisted by Kota Rani, Ramachandra's daughter, who had married Sahadeva. Dulchu's hordes were routed.

Ramachandra assumed the title of king. Rinchin rose in revolt, defeated and killed Ramachandra. He thus became the first Muslim King of Kashmir. He courted and married Kota Rani. With her counsel, he justly conducted the affairs of the state. Shah Mir became his minister, serving him faithfully. Rinchin ruled for three years and died in A.D. 1320, after being injured in an uprising led by, the brother of Sahadeva,

Udyanadeva. Kota Rani married Udyanadeva, who became the ruler of Kashmir.

Like Sahadeva, Udyanadeva also fled Kashmir, when Achala invaded the Valley. Kota Rani stayed on and organised public resistance. Using a clever strategem, she defeated Achala and killed him. Udyanadeva returned to the capital, but he was, henceforth, a king in name only. Kota Rani was the undisputed ruler of the kingdom. She resorted to force to curb warlords and rebellious ministers. When Udyanadeva died in A.D. 1338, she ascended the throne.

Shah Mir, who was bidding his time to seize the throne, staged a rebellion after five months of Kota's rule. Though she was assisted by the Lavanya tribe, Kota Rani lost after a long-drawn battle. She surrendered on the explicit condition that she would share the bed and throne with Shah Mir.

Clad in a rich costume, Kota Rani entered the boudoir of Shah Mir. Before he could draw her into his arms, she stabbed herself. Her death spelled the end of the Hindu rule in Kashmir.

With the advent of Islam in Kashmir there was an influx of a large number of Sufis and Syeds in the Valley. More than 700 of his followers were settled in Kashmir by the Sufi saint Shah Hamadan in the 14th century. This was followed by a large influx of Syeds from Central Asia and Persia during and after Timur's invasion of Northern India. Believed to be descendants of the Prophet, they were treated with great respect by the Muslim rulers and their subjects. They gained enormous influence and oppressed the people. Ultimately, when their oppression became unbearable, the people of Kashmir rose under General Malik Tazi Butt and most of them were thrown out. But still a large chunk of the Syed immigrants settled permanently in the Valley.

The Muslim rule in Kashmir commenced on a favourable note. Shah Mir's regime (A.D. 1339-42), though brief, was a soothing balm on an aching body. He was succeeded by his grandson Shihab-ud-Din (A.D. 1354-73) who was also benevolent. Hindal, the younger brother of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din, succeeded him under the title of Qutab-ud-Din (A.D. 1373-89). It was during his time that Syed Ali Hamadani came to Kashmir and strict Islamic practices began to be adopted. Islamic zeal climbed fanatical heights under the next ruler, Sultan Sikandar (A.D.

1389-1413), who acquired notoriety and the title of *But-Shikan* (destroyer of idols).

A relentless campaign for conversion to Islam was launched under the charge of the Sultan's Chief Minister, Malik Saif-ud-Din. He was a first generation convert. His name was Suha Bhatta, before his conversion to Islam. His zeal knew no bounds. During this period, a large number of sufi saints and Islamic scholars visited Kashmir from Persia and Central Asia. They contributed their might in spreading the influence of Islam in the Valley. His successor Sultan Ali Shah, who was his son, pursued his father's policies. It is said that in the two decades of repression only eleven Hindu families somehow managed to retain their identities and survive in the Valley.

However, the next Sultan, Zain-ul-Abidin (A.D. 1420-70), turned out to be the most benevolent ruler that Kashmir has known. His reign, following that of Sikandar and Ali Shah, was, in the words of historian Srivara: "like the cooling sandal paste after the heat of summer in a desert had departed." He used to be referred, out of affection, as Bud Shah (the great King). But his sons proved unworthy of their illustrious father. The fortunes of the Sultanate in Kashmir began to decline rapidly. The next 120 years saw only intrigues and conspiracies.

It was under these unsettled conditions that Mirza Haider Dughlat, a Mughal General, entered the Valley. He was in the service of Humayun. He had moved in November 1540 with only 400 soldiers, but met practically with no resistance. He ruled the Valley for the next eleven years (A.D. 1541-51). He provided a welcome respite to the inhabitants. The local factions, however, returned to the scene following his death. A section of the Kashmiri nobility approached Akbar with the request that he should annex Kashmir.

Akbar himself visited Kashmir in A.D. 1589 and established complete control over it. The last two Chak rulers, Yusuf Shah and his son Yaqub Shah, who were defeated by Akbar, deserve mention. The romance of Yusuf Shah with Habba Khatoon, known also as Zooni the moon, has become the saga of Kashmir's literary and cultural history. She had a humble background. Her husband maltreated her. Her beauty and her melodious songs both, drove Yusuf Shah to such an extent that he manipulated her divorce to marry her. She was also a gifted poetess.

The Mughal Army had little difficulty in entering Srinagar in A.D. 1586. Abul Fazal, the court historian of Akbar, recorded in the Ain-i-Akbari: "On all the sides, mountains, which raise their heads to heaven, act as sentinels. Though there are six or seven roads, yet in all of them there are places where, if some old women rolled down stones, the bravest of the men could not pass. On this account, former princes did not think of conquering it and prudence turned them away from such a wish." But this natural fortress fell to Akbar without much resistence. The defenders themselves joined the invaders.

In A.D. 1589, Kashmir became a province of the Mughal empire. It was ruled through a Governor, known as the Subedar. Peace prevailed. It became a hub of Central Asian trade. Akbar again visited the Valley in A.D. 1598 and A.D. 1601. The Mughals built two roads over the Pir Panchal and Jhelum Valley passes.

However, it was during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan — successors of Akbar — when Kashmir flourished. Besides order and stability, they brought elements of leisure and festivity in the depressing ambience of the last days of the Sultanate. Thomas Moore writes in *Lalla Rukh*: "All love and light/Visions by day and feast by night".

Aurangzeb (A.D. 1658-1707), who succeeded his father Shahjahan, too administered Kashmir efficiently. During his long reign of 49 years, Kashmir saw as many as 14 Governors. They generally ruled well but one of them, Iftikhar Khan (A.D. 1671-75), persecuted Kashmiri Pandits who approached the ninth Sikh Guru, Teg Bahadur. They complained, "We suffer great atrocities, sacred threads (janeus) are forcibly taken off our persons. Cows are killed." The Guru consoled them and said, "Go and tell the Mughal rulers that if they converted Tegh Bahudur they would all voluntarily embrace Islam." This infuriated the Mughal court and led to Guru's martyrdom.

> *"Agar qahat-ur-rijal uftad*
> *Az an seh mihr kuamjui*
> *Awwal Khumbu, duiam Afghan, soyum bazat Kashmiri.*
> *Zeh Khumbu hila me ayad*
> *Zeh Afghan kina me ayad*
> *Zah Kashmiri na me ayad bajuz anduh wa dilgiri"*

This was the reputation of Kashmiris at the barracks-level, and it was not a pretty sight.The song in Persian, popularised by the Mughal armies sent by Akbar, is caustic. It says that even if you are suffering from widespread famine, do not expect any help from these people; the Kumbus, who will cheat you by their cunning; the Afghans, who will only spite you; and the Kashmiris, who will only narrate their own sob stories in response and end up trying to extract something from you rather than give you anything. Even today an average Indian Muslim despises a Kashmiri by recollecting the same couplet.

During the Muslim rule, scores of Sufis visited Kashmir and left indelible imprints of their mysticism. One of them was known as Pir Pandit Padshah. Even the puritan Aurangzeb bowed before the powers of the Hindu pir and conferred a high title on him.

The Mughal empire began to crumble following the death of Aurangzeb. This had its impact on the Valley too, which once again became a hotbed of intrigues, violence and bloodshed. It was in the midst of such chaotic conditions that the local leaders invited Ahmad Shah Abdali to invade Kashmir and establish his rule. He seized the opportunity and sent a strong force in A.D. 1753 under Abdul Khan Isk Aquasi. The last Mughal Governor — Alaquli Khan — had been, in the meantime, displaced by a local upstart, Abdul Qasim Khan. The Afghan General defeated Qasim and established Afghan rule in Kashmir.

The nobles who had approached Akbar with the plea to annex Kashmir made a good judgment. Kashmir was restored its peace and tranquility for about 120 years. It was only after the disintegration of the Mughal empire that misrule returned to Kashmir. But those who invited the Afghan ruler did have no inclination that they were really calling a barbarous horde to their garden of nature. Virtually jumping from the frying pan into the fire, Kashmiris groaned under the tyrannical yoke of Afghans, who ruled for 67 years. The regime was cruel and barbarous, 'one of brutal tyranny unrelieved by good work, chivalry or honour' (Lawrence).

Oppression was the order of the day. And all Kashmiris, whether Hindu or Muslim were treated alike. Jabbar Khan — the last Afghan Governor — however, persecuted the Hindus relentlessly. A Pandit nobleman, Birbal Dhar, unable to see any longer the torment of Kash-

miris, approached Maharaja Ranjit Singh for help and provided him with valuable information about the strength and deployment of Jabbar Khan's forces. Ranjit Singh had earlier made two unsuccessful attempts to capture Kashmir, once in 1812 and again in 1814. This time,success greeted him. The Sikh forces, under the able command of Misser Dewan Chand, defeated Jabbar Khan at Shopiyan on July 15, 1819 and triumphantly marched into the capital the next day. Thus ended a 67-year-long nightmare for Kashmir.

The Sikh rule lasted for only 27 years and saw ten Governors. Barring Governor Kirpa Ram, the Sikh rule in Kashmir was far from benign or just. Kashmiris as a class were despised. With the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839, indiscipline and instability spread all over his kingdom. The last Governor, Imam-ud-din, was made to surrender possession of Kashmir to Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu in 1846 in pursuance of the Treaty of Amritsar.

There were three principal actors — the British, the Dogras and the Sikhs — on the stage of north-western India at the time of the death of Ranjit Singh. A tense drama of struggle was enacted for the next seven years. The British were modern, scientifically organised, far-sighted and clear in their imperial objectives. The Dogras were hardy, ambitious, feudal, and ill-equipped militarily, but had the good furtune of being led at that time by a sound, sagacious and experienced leader. The Sikhs were martial, brave with a strong army but reckless, ill-disciplined, riven with factions and jealousies and virtually leaderless. Under the circumstances, complete success of the British in attaining their objectives was not surprising. Gulab Singh realistically accepted the position of 'subordinate alliance' to the British and in the process secured a vast princely state free from the vagaries of the Lahore Durbar. The Sikhs lost all their power and position which they had built over the past 50 years.

After the defeat of the Sikhs, two separate treaties were executed. The Treaty of Lahore — which incorporated the terms of settlement between the Sikhs and the British Government — was signed on March 9, 1846. A week later, on March 16, a separate treaty, known as the Treaty of Amritsar, was signed between Raja Gulab Singh and the British Government. In the first treaty, the Sikhs ceded certain areas to the British Indian

Government on account of their inabillity to pay the indemnity of Rs 1.5 crore demanded by the British. By virtue of the second treaty, the British Government transferred "forever in independent possession" some of the ceded areas, including Kashmir, because of Gulab Singh's willingness to pay only Rs 75 lakh out of the total amount of indemnity demanded by the British. Thus Kashmir was passed on to the Dogras in consequence of the terms of the treaties and not in consequence of a 'sale deed'.

F. Younghusband wrote: "Surprise has often been expressed that when this lovely land had actually been ceded to us, after a hard and strenuous campaign, we should ever have parted with it for a paltry sum of three-quartrs of a million sterling." But the British had a subtle and long term purpose. This is borne out by a dispatch dated March 19,1846 from Governor-General Lord Hardinge to the East India Company. It states: "I request your attention to the treaty made with the Maharaja Gulab Singh, by which a Rajput principality of the hill districts has been constructed, extending from the Rabi to the Indus, and including the province of Kashmir. The Maharaja is declared by the treaty independent of the Lahore State and under the protection of the British Government. As it was of utmost importance to weaken the Sikh nation before the Government could be re-established, I considered the appropriation of this part of the ceded territory to be the most expedient measure I could devise for that purpose, by which a Rajput dynasty will act as a counterpoise against the power of a Sikh prince, the son of the late Ranjit Singh, and both will have a common interest in resisting attempts on the part of any Mohammaden power to establish an independent state on this side of the Indus, or even to occupy Peshawar." The Dogra dynasty lasted a little over hundred years. The period saw four Maharajas — Gulab Singh (1846-57); Ranbir Singh (1857-85); Partap Singh (1885-1925); and Hari Singh (1925-52). But the dynasty was always at the mercy of the British Government.

On account of the pressure of the British Government and also on his own initiative, the Maharaja undertook constitutional reforms on a moderate scale. In the meantime, there were serious riots on July 13, 1931, outside the Srinagar Jail in which 21 persons were killed. In 1934, the Maharaja further promulgated another Constitutional Act which introduced a diarchy. It also provided for a 75-member Legislative

Assembly (Praja Sabha), including 37 elected members. While the State was witnessing limited constitutional reforms, the freedom movement in India was gathering momentum. The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League had emerged on the scene. The developments had its echo in J&K where a number of young men had returned with social and political awakening following higher education at Lahore and Aligarh.

In 1932, a political organisation by the name of Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference was founded, and Sheikh Abdullah was elected its first president. It began with modest demands. Its main objectives were to work for social, economic and cultural betterment of Muslims and to secure for them a large share in civil services and Army jobs. In 1938-39, the Muslim Conference was renamed as 'All Jammu & Kashmir National Conference' which opened its membership to all classes, irrespective of religion.

M. A. Jinnah, who visited the State in 1944 on the invitation of the National Conference, exhorted the Muslims to come under the Muslim Conference (which was associated with the Muslim League). He did not even spare Mirwaiz Maulvi Yusuf Shah, whom he called a "rotten egg." He told the maulvi, "I advise you to remain aloof from politics. In Kashmir, we want a leader, and not a mulla".

The National Conference under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah launched the 'Quit Kashmir Movement' on May 10, 1946. Jinnah labelled it as 'an agitation carried on by a few malcontents who were out to create disorderly conditions in the State'. Jinnah's outbursts in 1944 and observations on the Quit Kashmir Movement must have convinced the Sheikh that his political future would be weak if the State joined Pakistan.

Mirwaiz Maulvi Yusuf Shah fled to Pakistan. Later in 1953, his teenaged nephew — Maulvi Farooq — was installed as the Mirwaiz on the initiative of the then Prime Minister of Kashmir, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad.

Discussing the forces and actors on the eve of Indian Independence, Jagmohan wrote: "A number of forces were operating on the political firmament of the State. There was the National Conference, headed by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. It dominated the Valley but had only

limited influence in Jammu and Ladakh. It had developed close rapport with the leaders of the Indian National Congress, particularly Jawaharlal Nehru, but its equation with the Muslim League was marked by hostility. Mirwaiz Maulvi Yusuf Shah, who had a wild and fanatical following in the old areas of Srinagar city, was antagonistic both to the National Conference and the Congress. Then, there was the Muslim Conference which had little following in the Valley but had acquired rapid strength amongst the Muslims of the Jammu region during the last two years on account of its ideological affinity with the Muslim League, which had the potential of spreading its influence in the Valley also. Voices for independent Kashmir were also being raised here and there. The Maharaja was yet another force. The Dogra Rajputs of Jammu considered him their own kith and kin. The relations between him on the one hand and Sheikh Abdullah and Pandit Nehru on the other were marked by mutual distrust and dislike. None of the three leaders was able to rise above his pride and prejudices while taking vital decisions in regard to the future of the State. All these forces and actors were soon to play their part in the first act of the tragic Kashmir drama. The Maharaja was indecisive. Jinnah was impatient. Pandit Nehru was caught in between his idealism and the stark realities of the situation. Sheikh Abdullah with streaks of megalomania and duplicity embedded deep in the layers of his mind and with Jinnah's doors closed to him, was nursing secret ambitions to carve out a Sheikhdom for himself and his family. No wonder, there was consequently confusion and inconsistency on the stage."

Such frequent aberrations by the rulers and politicians, in power, in the history of Kashmir, led to the persecution of Kashmiri Pandits — the aborigines — from time to time.

IV

Kashmiri Pandits : An endangered community

Bansi Parimu, an eminent painter, asked S. B. Chavan — the then Union Minister for Human Resources — who had visited Srinagar in 1986 in connection with a project for the wildlife conservation in the Valley, "I believe you are interested in the preservation of the endangered species of stags." Answering in the affirmative, Chavan said, "It is a project much after the heart of Governor Jagmohan and I too am interested." Parimu asked, "But why cannot you do something about the other endangered species here?" "Which endangered species?" asked Chavan. Pat came the reply from Parimu, "Kashmiri Pandits."

Even Parimu who was hounded out by terrorists from the Valley and died in wilderness in New Delhi in 1991, did not know that he was making a prophesy about the fate of the minuscule minority in the Valley.

The en masse exodus of Kashmiri Pandits from the Valley in the wake of the current phase of terrorism was unprecedented. Never before had the minority community felt such despair, except once about 400 years ago, when only eleven families of this community survived following the onslaught of Sultan Sikandar. (See Annexure 1). Leafing through the pages of Kashmir's history, it is evident that peaceful times have been very few here. The Valley has been subjected to many invasions from outside, and has suffered intrigues and conspiracy from within. One party

would arrive, loot and plunder, followed by another. Under these circumstances, the people of the Valley developed a chameleon-like character. They developed survivalistic characteristics, almost willing to do anything to keep their superior, boss or ruler, pleased — sychophancy, servility, and backbiting. (1) Kashmiris, including Hindus (Pandits), have always remained xenophobic. As a single ethnic group they evolved an exquisite cultural pattern with the strands of the principal religions. They have shared the ups and downs of life in Kashmir. Even the notion of an independent Kashmir nation was given birth to by Ram Chandra Kak, Prime Minister of Maharaja Hari Singh, before the accession of the State to India in 1947.

Before their exodus, Kashmiri Pandits themselves used to admit with pride that they were always in the forefront of the struggle to retain a separate Kashmiri identity. At least 47 members of this community were externed from the State by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah during a crackdown on the 'Mahaz-i-Raishumari' (Plebiscite Front).

This community by and large always remained in the vanguard of the tirade against the residents from other States who were posted in Kashmir. It is the turn of Kashmiri Pandits now to be despised by the majority community which accused them of having dominated the political and economic scene of Kashmir for hundreds of years.

Rebutting these allegations, Khem Lata Wakhlu, a former Kashmir Minister, wrote in her book: "The relations between Kashmiri Muslims and Hindus have always been complex. It would not be wrong to say that these are based on a peculiar love-hate syndrome. The dress, language, living style, culture and genetic origin of both groups are identical. The family names are identical too, going back as they do to a common ancestor. Both groups love each other, depend on each other and have got used to living in close proximity with each other for centuries. They are used to sharing each other's woes and happiness, participating in marriages, deaths, and other social and religious occasions from time to time. One cannot distinguish easily who is a Muslim and who is a Hindu. There are many places of worship where all Kashmiris worship and pay their obeisance without any distinction. The cultural heritage is common to all, giving rise to many common customs and rituals at the time of birth, marriage and death. Many Hindu children had Muslim foster-

mothers and vice versa. Quite often most 'munshis' or teachers in the well-to-do Muslim household would be Kashmiri Hindus. And there are umpteen anecdotes, about sharing of love and mutual trust.

"In spite of this rich heritage there is a chasm somewhere which raises the question in every mind about the possible reasons for the present condition. And in the present context, innumerable problems are faced by the people which have given rise to tension amongst them. The most obvious reason for this tension is unemployment.

"Both communities have been bereft of riches and capital for centuries, a few exceptions on either side notwithstanding. The Hindus have managed, however, to keep their traditional occupation with the written word alive, in spite of utmost difficulties faced by them in doing so. They maintained this wealth of learning within their fold at all costs. They learnt the language of the Pathans, of the Sikhs, and of the Dogras, and then of the English, thereby managing to be of use to their rulers. For centuries they depended on petty service with the ruling classes in order to maintain themselves. Their Muslim brethren depended exclusively on agriculture, trade and the traditional arts for their sustenance. With the learning of English the Kashmiri Hindus became visible as a job-seeking community in the Government hierarchy.

"The Muslim community was in the forefront as long as there was the sway of Persian and Arabic languages. In the wake of the advent of Urdu and English, particularly the latter, the Muslims came under the influence of maulvis. They sought to keep the masses away from the new education system on the plea that it was Christian education. At the same time, however, they did not deprive their children from the benefits of the new education. Thereby, they were able to join the Government services along with others. The mass of Muslim people were thereby not only deprived of the share of governance but also found it difficult to obtain schooling and education. The pressures of the caste system also played their traditional role in spite of the fact that the distinction of caste had apparently been wiped out by change of faith to Islam. As a consequence of these social, political, and religious factors, the Kashmiri Hindu became visible as a munshi, clerk, *patwari* or *girdawar* (petty revenue official) in the Government hierarchy. His Muslim neighbour gradually became envious of his new power and better living standards. When the

autocratic rulers came out with a heavy hand on the poor masses on one pretext or the other, the Kashmiri Hindus became the instrument of Government and earned hate at the hands of the population — largely Muslims — as a factotum of the ruler."(2)

Adding that on account of higher ambitions, there was growing resentment caused by lack of meaningful employment, Wakhlu is of the opinion that there is another reason for the growing disaffection. The gulf between the poor and the prosperous was visibly growing wide. A new class of wealthy people had emerged. Their wealth was conspicuous, more so because it was acquired in a short span of time. In these fast-changing situations everyone felt the desire to get rich quick and become a prosperous Nawab or Sultan like others. In this rat race, many people did achieve results rather fast and were not easily recognizable after the change. They were so engrossed in their new found wealth and status that they lost touch with reality. Consequently, their behaviour and attitudes towards their own poorer kith and kin became callous, even harsh. As against this, those who could not keep pace with this competition and revolutionary transformation became envious and developed hatred born out of inferiority complex.

The youth in this group of population took to terrorism under the garb of new revolutionaries. To gain their objective, the young men took support of religion and unfurled the flag of extremism in the Valley. To garner the support of the disgruntled, it was necessary that the first brunt of the new revolution had to be borne by Kashmiri Pandits and the wealthy Kashmiri Muslims. Both were sought to be depicted as agents of India and eliminating them became their immediate aim.

Kashmiri Pandits are often accused of usurping job opportunities in Government offices. Rebutting the allegation, the Panun Kashmir — an organisation of Kashmiri Pandits at Jammu — stated in a booklet *Kashmir —Facts Speak* : "With about 80 per cent literacy among Kashmiri Pandits as against 26.6 per cent literacy in the State as per the 1981 census, Kashmiri Pandits should have been ruling the roost in the absence of any competition worth the name but the community does not fill up more than 4 per cent posts in the State services. It added that out of about 2,10,000 employees of the State Government and its Corporations, Kashmiri Pandits hardly count for 8,500 in number."

Ali Mohammad Sagar, J&K Minister of State for Information in the Farooq Government, admitted on July 11, 1989 at New Delhi that 59 per cent personnel in the State police were Muslims against 65 per cent of Muslims in the population. He added that in the selection for public enterprises during the year 1988, the percentage of Muslims was 55.4.

However, the fact is that power was always in the hand of Muslims after Independence. Though Kashmiri Pandits fought against Maharaja's rule under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah, there was no Kashmiri Pandit in the executive committee of the National Conference (NC) in 1990 — P. L. Handoo, who represented the Anantnag constituency as the National Conference nominee in the ninth Lok Sabha (November 1989-June 1991), was merely a special invitee to the meetings of the executive committee.

A section of politicians and newspaper columnists often allege that Kashmiri Muslims have been denied their due share in the State services. But the fact is that though Kashmiri Muslims lag behind in their educational qualifications, their representation in the services is more or less proportionate to their population. A brief summary of the figures of the employees working in Government departments as on 1.7.87 is given in the following tables —

The percentage of each community in the employment of the Government Department of the State(Category-wise) as on 1.7.1987

Category of Service	*HINDUS*	*MUSLIMS*	*SIKHS*	*OTHERS*	*TOTAL*
Gazetted	6,307	5,140	717	159	12,323
(Percentage)	(51.18)	(41.71)	(5.82)	(1.59)	(100.00)
Non-Gazetted	49,705	73,780	5,555	2,136	131,176
(Percentage)	(37.89)	(56.23)	(4.23)	(1.64)	(100.00)
Inferior	14,370	32,011	1,010	1,469	48,860
(Percentage)	(29.42)	(65.52)	(2.06)	(3.00)	(100.00)

The percentage of employment and the Percentage of population of each community

Name of Community	*Nos. of employees in Govt. Services*	*% age in employment*	*% age in population*
Hindus	70,382	36.59	32.27
Muslims	110,931	57.67	64.19
Sikhs	7,282	3.79	2.23

Name of Community	Nos. of employees in Govt. Services	% age in employment	% age in population
Others	3,764	1.95	1.31
Total	192,359	100.00	100.00

The Employment position in respect of Scheduled Castes/ Gujjars & Bakerwal and Ex-serviceman employees as on 1.7.87

Name of Community	Nos. of employees in Govt. Services	% age in employment	% age in population
Sch. Castes	6,765	3.52	8.00
Ex-Serviceman	3,145	1.63	N-A
Gujjar & Bakerwal	1,071	0.56	7.00

Employees working in the State-owned Corporations/ Undertakings/Autonomous bodies and Banks along with their Community-wise and category-wise percentage as on 1.7.87

Category of Service	HINDUS	MUSLIMS	SIKHS	OTHERS	TOTAL
Gazetted	1,115	1,160	104	2	2,381
(Percentage)	(46.83)	(48.72)	(4.37)	(0.08)	(100)
Non-Gazetted	6,201	11,065	1,123	110	18,499
(Percentage)	(33.51)	(59.82)	(6.59)	(0.59)	(100)
Class IV	3,082	6,508	272	66	9,928
(Percentage)	(31.04)	(65.55)	(2.75)	(0.66)	(100)
Total	10,398	18,733	1,499	178	30,809

The percentage of employment and the Percentage of population

Name of Community	Nos. of employees	% age of employees	% age in population
Hindus	10,398	33.75	32.27
Muslims	18,733	60.80	64.19
Sikhs	1,499	4.87	2.23
Others	178	0.58	1.31
Total	30,808	100.00	100.00

The Percentage and the Number of Employees of Reserved Category Working in these State-Owned Corporations/Undertakings Banks

Name of Class	Nos. of Employees	Percentage among Employees	Percentage in Population
Sch. Caste	1014	3.29	8
Ex-Serviceman	137	0.77	Not Available
Gujjar & Bakerwal	149	0.80	7

In fact these are the Scheduled Castes, Gujjar and Bakerwal — the backward communities among the Muslims — who have been denied their dues by Kashmiri-speaking Muslims being at the helm of political and administrative affairs since Independence.

However, in response to a question from Mohammad Shafi Khan — a National Conference legislator — the J&K Assembly was informed in August 1989 that as per the available information the community-wise number of employees working in various Central Government offices as on January 1, 1989 is as follows —

Category of Service	*HINDUS*	*MUSLIMS*	*SIKHS*	*OTHERS*	*TOTAL*
Officers	1613	133	161	21	1928
(Percentage)	(83.66)	(6.89)	(8.35)	(1.10)	(100)
Clerical Staff	4043	662	320	75	5100
(Percentage)	(79.27)	(12.98)	(6.28)	(1.47)	(100)
Class IV	5622	1212	550	331	7715
(Percentage)	(72.87)	(15.70)	(7.14)	(4.29)	(100)

Citing these figures, the detractors of Kashmiri Pandits often raise a hue and cry over 'denial of job opportunities' to Kashmiri Muslims forgetting that education is the most dear aspect of life for the minority in the State. Moreover, these are the Central services which any citizen of the Indian Union, including J & K, may join without any discrimination. The figures are related to Hindus, not to Kashmiri Pandits alone. Similarly, there is no bar on Kashmiri Muslims joining Central services elsewhere in the entire country and in fact they are serving in many States in India.

In fact, Kashmiri Pandits suffer in silence since 1948. They are continuously on the run. In a report from Kashmir in the *Indian Express* in its issue of March 3, 1986, H. K. Dua said: " The minority community of Kashmiri Pandits has suffered discrimination under successive regimes in the Valley but the Anantnag communal riots have left them in a state of shock . . . While the Centre's Kashmir policy is apparently in the melting pot, the travails of Kashmiri Pandits have emerged as the immediate issue. Kashmiri Pandits were nearly three lakhs in 1947, they are only 70,000 now, half of them in Srinagar. Their population has dwindled because of the continuing migration to other parts of the country. They leave the Valley because of discrimination in recruitments

for jobs, admissions in educational institutions and economic deprivation . . . The recent violence has shattered their confidence. They are feeling bitter, frustrated and bewildered. The attacks on houses and places of worship on February 20, particularly in places like Wanpoh, Dhanav Bogund and Lukbawan in Anantnag district and incidents in Srinagar, Sopore and Baramulla involving the beating and harassment of members of the minority community have further intensified their anxiety and generated a feeling of insecurity."

The Srinagar correspondent of *The Hindu* reported: "At least 23 villages in Anantnag district were affected in the communal violence that broke out on February 20. Wanpoh villagers said that their village was only two km away from the residence of the Superintendent of Police, Mohammad Abdullah Mir, the police did nothing to save them from the onslaught of about 2,000 pro-Pakistani youth armed with sticks and iron rods who had come from the neighbouring Khudwani village. They had to plead with some jawans to come to their rescue. But they had a good word for the 'local Muslims but for whose intervention,we would have been killed.' The villagers estimated their loss at Rs.60 lakh . . . In Dhanav Bogund village, eight houses, three cattle sheds and two places of worship were burnt . . . The entire Lukbawan village was looted and razed by over 5,000 persons, some carrying guns, who came from the neighbouring areas."

Quoting the Deputy Commissioner, Anantnag, Syed Abdul Wahid, Yusuf Jameel reported in the *Telegraph* (Calcutta): "In all 129 houses were looted, burnt or damaged, nine shops looted or ransacked, 16 temples or 'Shivalas' ransacked or damaged, two 'Kothars'(paddy stores) and two cowsheds burnt in Anantnag district on February 20." (See Annexure 2)

C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, the father of public education in Kashmir, who came to Kashmir in 1881 and spent five decades recorded: "The Brahmins are a proud people, for besides being twice born, they hold they are part of God. The boys told me that they could not commit sin and when they were caught in their various acts of transgression, which I considered against the moral laws, they always said that they were only following the custom of their fathers and forefathers and, therefore, felt no shame". (3)

Biscoe goes on to add: "I must say that ordinary Kashmiri such as I have known for 30 years is a coward, a man with no self-respect and deceitful to a degree and I perhaps may write with a clear conscience, for I have told this to all classes of them on their faces, times without number, and to give them all credit, they never resent it, because they know it is true".

Syed Tassadaque Hussain in his book *Reflections on Kashmir Politics* states: "Individually they (Kashmiri Pandits) are the finest people one can come across in the Valley. They are delicate, intelligent, decent and very friendly. For obtaining their objectives the Kashmiri Brahmins would stick at nothing. Its sole aim becomes self-preservation and not achievement . . . While in India it was the lowest strata of society which willingly escaped to Islam to avoid caste disabilities, in Kashmir it was the high caste Brahmin group that converted to Islam unwillingly to escape Afghan tyranny."

He added: "Despite conversion to Islam, the neo-converts remained the ethnic part of the same community. Hence, Hindu communalism and Muslim communalism did not at all arise in the Valley. The same community despite two different faiths could not fight itself. Rather in the social milieu that prevailed at that time Kashmiri Brahmins had the closest affinity with Kashmiri Muslims. There was no over all differences between the cultures of two groups. The totality of the differences pertained to faith factor. Minus faith factor, race and custom remained the same. Politically, socially and psychologically the attitudes of the two communities did not materially differ. In fact, the bond of common language provided the strongest association of attitudes."

He said: "Islam spread in the Valley by Muslim sufis and saints who had come from Persia and Kabul to proselytise the infidels in the Valley. They succeeded not by sword. However, their persuasion had the State power behind it. Otherwise, Persian and Pathan saints and sufis who spoke a different language and belonged to a different culture would not have made such a deep impact on the Valley of Kashmir . . . The morbid fear of Punjabi domination would drive the people of Kashmir despite being predominantly Muslims into the lap of predominantly Hindu India. Kashmiri Muslims are also a lot to blame. Instead of joining the mainstream they became more insular than ever."

Kashmiri Pandits always found it more prudent to abandon their homeland, particularly after Independence, for better and more job opportunities. That is why the population of this minority community registered an increase by only 4,000 between 1941 and 1961 in Kashmir. But in 1990, this community was forced to leave the Valley as they were an obstacle in the way of armed terrorists aiming to establish Nizam-e-Mustafa (Islamic rule) in Kashmir. The very presence of the Pandit is a challenge to attempt a total Islamisation of the Valley and reversal of its cultural traditions that are fundamentally Hindu in essence and a distinct, yet essential, component of the larger Hindu ethos.

With the recent advent of full scale Islamic fundamentalism, the social interaction which was sustaining a healthy civil society, became a thorn in the side of terrorists. It had to be plucked out and cast away as per the plan of Pakistan's Intelligence agency, the ISI.

From September 1989 onwards when terrorism raised its ugly head in the Valley, the scene in the beginning was dominated by the Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) which pretended to be secular. The assassination of Tak Lal Taploo, vice-president of the State unit of the Bharatiya Janata Party, was attributed by the JKLF to his being an 'Indian zealot' and was largely seen by Pandits as a selective killing and possibly not as a signal of an all-out attack on them.

The next killing was that of Judge Neel Kanth Ganjoo (retired) who, several years ago, had sentenced Maqbool Butt, a secessionist leader, to death for his involvement in a case of a gruesome murder. The Kashmiri Pandit community leaders, in a rejoinder to the JKLF, expressed their shock and anger at the fact that if Judge Ganjoo had sentenced Maqbool Butt to death in his capacity as a judge, was the JKLF prepared to punish, in a similar manner, all prosecution witnesses in the trial, all of whom were Muslims? No straight response came from the JKLF. One thought that terrorists had closed the issue. But they sent their unequivocal answer to this pertinent question by gunning down P.N. Bhatt, a Kashmiri Pandit — and an advocate in Anantnag — who was also a social worker of some repute in the area. No doubt, even the saner elements in the majority community were silenced to death by the young men imbibing fundamentalism and obscurantism. The status of Kashmiri Pandits were like frightened pigeons.

Several thousand persons, including women, came out on the streets of Srinagar city following searches in January 1990. The religious slogan — *Nara-i-Taqbir, Allah-o-Akbar* ranted the air sending a chill down the spine of the minority community.

Recording the scene of that night, Khem Lata Wakhlu wrote: "Hardly anyone in Kashmir slept on the night of January 21. The sound of commotion and hysterical screaming spewed out of hundreds of mosques. Anti-India slogans rant the air coupled with *Allah-o-Akbar* and *Nizam-e-Mustafa*. The noise hammered incessantly on the eardrums. People from all corners of the city poured out on the streets, milling around agitatedly in spontaneous processions. Whoever dared to stay indoors was threatened with dire consequences. People owing allegiance to secular political parties were terrified to see the massive spectacle and were afraid that they might be the first victims of the onslaught of people in anger. It looked as if everybody was hell-bent on killing those who swore by Indian secularism, who trembled at the prospect of being victimised in this spate of terrible anger. They knew that by the time the Government machinery woke up, the streets would be streaming with innocent blood. Government officers, who may have controlled the situation, were scared to their bones. What else could they do in such a situation? When a tiny stream suddenly erupts forth-with the flooding fury of an ocean, who saves whom? People surged forward blindly trudging along paths, dragging their feet towards unknown destination, pulled forward like helpless pawns in the hands of destiny."

The events unfolded at an astonishingly rapid pace. From December 1989 onwards, Kashmiri Pandits started receiving threatening letters asking them to quit the Valley. Members of their families were threatened to be killed irrespective of age or sex. All this obviously was aimed at terrorising them into fleeing the Valley.

The Pandit community was rudely shocked to learn that killings were no longer selective, but of a general nature aimed at driving out its members, to turn Kashmir into a Muslim ghetto.

In a memorandum to the then Governor of the State, General K.V. Krishna Rao (Retired), the Kashmiri Pandit Sabha, Jammu, on January 15, 1990 submitted: "On December 15 in 1989, men, children and old women from the minority community were mercilessly attacked and

womenfolk molested in Shopian in Pulwama district in South Kashmir." At that time, Dr. Farooq was the Chief Minister of the State.

The indiscriminate killing in Habba Kadal in Srinagar, where Pandits used to live in a sizeable number quickened the process of migration. Panic coupled with fear gripped the minority community so much so that families left literally in their sleeping suits and walked, in bitter cold, a distance of a few kilometres to reach the only bus stand for Jammu, seeking to catch any available motor vehicle, even goods-ladden trucks, to escape from the fury of the Kalashnikov-toting terrorists.

The migrants had no time to take their valuables with them. They could not even carry essential articles of daily use. Those who managed to carry their essentials along were forced back by terrorists warning them to leave the Valley without their belongings. This sudden and disorganised exodus from the Valley left the migrants destitute, bereft of even the minimum resources to eke out a reasonable living outside the Valley in the inhospitable tropical climate of the plains. Their meagre savings continue to remain blocked in banks because terrorists would not allow these establishments to transact business.

Barring a handful of Kashmiri Pandits who are either running their business establishments by buying peace with terrorists or some Government servants who are discharging their duties under security cover, the entire Kashmiri Pandit community has been forced to flee the Valley.

The following table speaks for itself.

District-wise details of displaced families
registered — ending November 1990

Description	*Jammu*	*Udhampur*	*Kathua*	*Rajouri*	*Doda*	*Poonch*	*Total*
Number of families Registered	4655	6358	478	28	360	1	53735
Total strength	211785	27402	2012	94	1460	5	242758
No. of families Accomodated							
(i) In Tents	5059	355	0	0	0	0	5394
(ii) In Buildings	1043	2234	138	0	9	0	3424
Total	6082	2589	138	0	9	0	8818
No. of Camps Established	19	6	1	0	4	0	30

Description	*Jammu*	*Udhampur*	*Kathua*	*Rajouri*	*Doda*	*Poonch*	*Total*
Cash Assistance Paid by the Govt. from May to Nov. 1990	143371308	14002374	806262	1900	719645	0	158991289
No. of Top Govt. Employees (Central & State)	11771	1077	135	12	118	1	13114
No. of Employees Belonging to Banks Corporations, etc.	888	47	0	0	0	0	935
No. of Families with at least one Govt. Employee	10720	892	114	12	109	1	11848
No. of State Pensioners not receiving Cash Assistance	146	24	0	3	0	0	173

Number of Tents Issued : —

TALAB TILLOO	75	MUTHI	259
TRIKUTA NAGAR	5	JHIDI	733
MISRIWALA	1053	PURKHU	824
NAGROTA	659	INDIRA NAGAR	225
UDHAMPUR	800	DODA	50
TOTAL		5166	

Besides, some have gone to other cities such as New Delhi, Jaipur, Lucknow and even to far-flung cities in the South. However, some politicians and human rights activists have imputed motives to the decision of Kashmiri Pandits to migrate from the land of violence and anarchy to safer sanctuaries. One of them even croaked, "The migrants left at the bidding of the highest-up in Srinagar." He obviously meant Jagmohan. The Save Kashmiri Pandit Campaign Committee, New Delhi, retorted back : " Must we tell this gentleman hailing from Kashmir that nothing is more distasteful to a Kashmiri Pandit as, indeed, to all Kashmiris, Hindus and Muslims alike, than the remotest thought of leaving his land which he loves as only a son would love his mother. Gentleman, why are you deliberately falsifying Kashmir's ethos and history? Why are you pulling wool over your eyes? Why are you seeking to minimise the gravity of the situation which has brought ruination on us all? Apparently, you claim to uphold the flag of Sheikh Abdullah. Can you deny that his house at Soura in Srinagar was gutted down by the very

same terrorists who are after our lives, that his grave is today guarded by a big contingent of the para-military forces for fear of secessionists desecrating it by tearing it open like a pack of wolves throwing away his remains into the river as openly threatened by them. If this is the fate meted out by terrorists to him, who brought Kashmir into the Union of India, pray, gentleman, what will the fate be like for Kashmiri Pandits who, as a community, are openly dubbed by secessionists as agents of India. Gentleman, why are you suppressing the fact that the situation has taken such a catastrophic turn that not only Hindus and Sikhs but also Muslims are now fleeing from the land of their birth for fear of being the next targets of secessionist Kalashnikovs." The same gentleman, Hirdya Nath Wanchoo, who openly supported terrorists, was ultimately gunned down in December 1992 by some unidentified terrorists at his home in the wake of internecine conflicts between various factions of terrorists.

Migrant families registered at Jammu by November 1990 included 8,270 Sikh families with 40,916 members; 215 Muslim families with 1,068 members; and 1,331 others with 6,666 members — besides 35,459 Kashmir Pandit families with 1,56,042 members; who have run away in fear on their own, leaving homes and hearths behind.

No wonder the crisis in Kashmir, at the instigation of Pakistan, has been cataclysmic for the small community of Kashmiri Pandits who have been hounded enmasse in a pre-determined manner from their homeland whose soil they had nurtured with their sweat and blood. Kashmir's distinctive ethos, its culture and traditions bear an unmistakable mark of the peculiar genius of Kashmiri Pandits but today they have been made fugitives, fighting a grim battle for their very survival.

In an appeal, the Save Kashmiri Pandit Campaign Committee has stated: "To have been known as a Kashmiri Pandit has been a matter of pride for everyone of us and envy to others. Carving his own distinctive way of life, the Kashmiri Pandit has been able to hold fast to it despite tremendous pressure and trials and tribulations he suffered from time to time at the hands of tyrannical rulers and inquisitors. He has tried to imbibe something of the loftiness of the mountains that surrounded him, and drank uninhibitedly at the fountain of knowledge.

"The Kashmiri Pandit has its own pantheon of gods, his own circuit

of temples and shrines — Tulamala (Kheer Bhawani), Chakreshwari (Hari Parbat), Lok Bhawan, Nagbal and Umanagri (Anantnag), Bhadrakali Teerath (Kupwara) and the shrines of Alakh Devi and Rishi Peer (Srinagar) and, of course, the famous Amar Nathji cave tucked deep in the high Himalayas. The same Kashmiri Pandit, alas, appears to have been stripped of his right to live in the land of his ancestors. All his gods at the moment are unable to help him for they are locked in their sanctums with no one to look after them.

"Today, Islamic fundamentalism has struck Kashmir in its most pernicious form aiming to wipe out all vestiges of 'kafir' existence and making Kashmiri Pandits the prime targets of its fury. Harassed and haunted by the Pak-trained terrorists for being visible manifestations of Indian nationalism, the Pandits have been forced to abandon their homes and hearths, leaving all movable and immovable property and educational careers behind and taking refuge at Jammu, Delhi and other places. An ominous blow was struck on April 14, 1990 when terrorists issued a warning that the Pandits should leave the Valley within 48 hours. If they dared to return, the punishment would be death. And death it has been ever since. A whole community is on the hit list."

Lamenting over the developments, Bansi Parimu had remarked, "I find my Lal Ded searching for a shroud to conceal her festering wounds; Nunda Rishi lamenting upon his mutilated ethos; Habba Khatoon shedding blood instead of tears at the smouldering saffron fields; Arni Maal becoming dumbfounded on her bruised ego; Mahjoor and Nadim trying to trace their abode and Rasool Mir moaning upon the disappearance of his Poshimaal." The Kashmiri Pandit, steeped in secular traditions, could not imagine the havoc waiting for him on account of the onslaught of Islamic fundamentalism. The concerted onslaught on secular traditions has an alibi in the form of repeated allegations about the negligence of the Valley, which is contrary to facts.

References :

1. *Kashmir: Behind the White Curtain*, Khem Lata Wakhlu P. 379

2. Ibid, P. 380-82
3. *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, C. E. Tyndale Biscoe

V

Myth of Negligence

Besides the plague of separatism, the J&K State — being multi-ethnic and multi-religious — is afflicted with perennial inter-regional strife and tension between Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmir. The ethnic problem, in its multilateral and diverse forms, continues to play the main role in the State which is often exploited by fundamentalists.

J & K, one of the largest states of the Indian Union, covers an area of 2,22,236 sq.km, including 78,114 sq. km under the illegal occupation of Pakistan — 5,130 sq.km illegally handed over by Pakistan to China — and 37,555 sq.km illegally occupied by China.

The area on the Indian side of the cease-fire line (effective from the midnight of December 31, 1948) was 1,38,124 sq.km . It underwent another change due to the realignment of the border and conversion of the cease-fire line into the Line of Control (LOC) or Line of Actual Control (LOAC), following the Simla Agreement between India and Pakistan on July 3, 1972. The net area left with J&K State in India at present is 1,01,387 sq.km.

The State occupies the north-west niche of India, bounded in the south by Himachal Pradesh and Punjab, on the south-west and West by Pakistan, on the north by Chinese Turkistan and Russian Turkistan, and on the east by Tibet. Thus it strategically borders on the territories of at least two powers — China and Pakistan.

The State comprises mostly of mountainous terrain rising in several tiers from the plains in the south to the high-altitude valleys (average altitude — 1,800 metres above the sea level). The mountains go up to more than 5,000 metres. Some of the loftiest inhabited villages and towns of the world are found in the Ladakh region.

Kashmir Valley is a unique oval plain, approximately 134 km in length and 32 to 40 km in breadth, at an average height of 1,800 metres above the sea level and nestled securely in the Pir Panjal range of the Himalayas. Nowhere else in the world can one find such an amphitheatre of snow-capped mountains surrounding such a large plain, traversed throughout its length by a navigational river (Jhelum).

The population of the State, according to the 1981 census, is 59,87,389 which includes 31,64,660 males and 28,22,729 females. These figures exclude the areas under the occupation of Pakistan and China. In terms of density of population — 59 persons per sq km — it has the lowest, compared to the all-India average. The increase in population during the decade 1971-81 in the State was 28.71 per cent as compared to 29.65 per cent during the preceding decade.

The following table shows the distribution of population in each of the region and according to the faith.

Region	*Hindu*	*Muslim*	*Sikh*	*Buddhist*	*Christian*	*Other*
Jammu	1802832	804637	100164	1141	7778	1561
Kashmir	124078	2976932	33117	189	466	62
Ladakh	5338	61882	334	68376	237	5
State	1932248	3843451	133615	69706	8481	1628

MUSLIM POPULATION:

1. Percentage of total Muslim population to the total population of the State. 64.19
2. Percentage of Muslim population of Kashmir Division to the total population of the State. 49.72
3. Percentage of Muslim population of Kashmir Division to the total Muslim population of the State. 77.45
4. Percentage of Muslim population of Jammu Division to the total Muslim population of the State. 13.43

5.	Percentage of Muslim population of Jammu Division to the total population of Jammu Division.	29.60

HINDU POPULATION:

1.	Percentage of total Hindu population to the total population of the State.	32.27
2.	Percentage of Hindu population of Kashmir Division to the total Hindu population of the State.	2.07
3.	Percentage of Hindu population of Kashmir Division to the total Hindu population of the State.	6.42
4.	Percentage of Hindu population of Jammu Division to the total Hindu population of the State.	93.30
5.	Percentage of Hindu population of Jammu Division to the total population of Jammu Division.	66.32

The population of Kashmiri Hindus was stated as 1,24,078 as per the 1981 census. Barring a handful, they are Kashmiri Pandits. The 1991 census could not be held in J&K on account of the disturbed conditions. If allowed a growth rate of about 29 per cent (the average of the last two decades) it should have been about 1.76 lakh, while about 2.5 lakh persons have reportedly migrated from the State. Answering this discrepancy, the convenor of the Panun Kashmir said that the registration of migrants was done by Government agencies. He alleged that over the last four decades, the number of Kashmiri Pandits was deliberately shown less in the census figures at the behest of the rulers in the State who belonged to the majority Muslim community.

The census revealed a phenomenal progress in literacy in the State. As against 18.3 per cent literacy in 1971, the 1981 census showed that a growth rate of 150 per cent was achieved during the decade as the literacy percentage went up to 26.67 — the highest for any State in India, barring Kerala.

The Jammu region often complains of discrimination, particularly the denial of an adequate participatory role in the political arena at the hands of Kashmiri politicians. In an article in the *Daily Excelsior* in August 1990, Hari Om puts forth the following table showing the dominance of

Kashmiri Muslims in the State polity and administration.

S.No.	*Indicator*	*Kashmir*	*Jammu*	*Ladakh*
1.	Chief Ministers (Prime Ministers)	6	None	None
2.	President of Political Parties:			
	a. National Conference	All	None	None
	b. Congress/Congress(I)	All	None	None
	c. Janata Dal	All but One	One	None
	d. BJP	None	All	None
	Secretaries/Commissioners	15	5	None
	Employees in Secretariat	90%	10%	None
	Employees in Kashmir Division	98%	2%	None
	Employees in Jammu Division	40%	60%	None

Thus there has been an undue political weightage in favour of Kashmir since 1951 itself. It resulted in an overwhelming recruitment in Government jobs from the Kashmir region of the State.

The total length of roads in J&K is 10,266 km compared to 4,798 km in 1966. Of this 2,458 km are unsurfaced. Besides, two major national highways run through the State. Similarly, Rs.123 lakh were advanced against deposit of 1,098 lakh in the State by the scheduled commercial banks in 1961, while in the financial year 1984-85, advances to the tune of Rs.33,282 lakh were made against deposit of Rs.64,306 lakh. The State registered an all-round development in every sphere of activity till 1989, when terrorism, secessionism and Muslim fundamentalism began rocking its foundation.

As things stand today, the tourist traffic is down to a trickle. Cottage and handicraft industries limp along only because the Centre regularly comes to the rescue of artisans and craftsmen by organising sales of their products at various centres in the country. The organised industry functions under a tight security. Business is struggling but somehow coping with terrorism. The flag of finance is still fluttering over the Valley though it has also been caught in the whirlpool of terrorism.

On the other hand, while the rulers of Pakistan keep shouting 'azadi, azadi' for the Valley, they have denied even basic rights to the people of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) and have callously neglected their

developmental needs. The 2.5 million people in PoK have resented many a time in the past 42 years of the Pak occupation, but their pleas fell on deaf ears. Their per capita income remains at Rs.1,802 compared to Rs.2,700 in the J&K State in the Indian Union. The J&K People's National Party of PoK lamented: "Our country is under subjugation at present. Our dear people are getting poorer day by day. Unemployment has assumed serious proportions. Corruption is rampant. Our country is full of hatred and fanaticism. There is no happiness among our people. Our people have been overwhelmed by hunger, poverty and distress. Young men in general, and educated youth in particular, are migrating to other countries in search of employment.

"It is the rulers of Azad Kashmir (PoK), the Muslim Conference, the unpatriotic politicians, the rulers of Pakistan and the civil and military bureaucracy who do not want the establishment of industry in Azad Kashmir. They do not want the Kashmiris to get jobs in their own country, because if they got, they would put an end to the exploiting rule of these classes.

"The entire Azad Kashmir is full of contractors, most of them belong to the ruling Muslim Conference. It would not be wrong to say that the Muslim Conference is the party of contractors. All its members have been allotted different types of contracts. Some have been given contracts for roads, some for buildings, some for defence and some for the enforcement of the Islamic system.

"The Muslim Conference is the first unpatriotic political party which has connived with the contractors in the embezzlement of millions of rupees in the name of development. The Muslim Conference is the representative of a decayed fascist and exploiting class.

"Our womenfolk are passing through great hardships. Except women of well-to-do families, 65 per cent of the women in Azad Kashmir are living in hell. All the Government servants of Azad Kashmir are treated by Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan, the President of our country, as his personal servants. They are forced to sign statements that 'Kashmir would become Pakistan' and that 'Kashmir is an integral part of Pakistan'. Those who refuse to sign such statements are removed from their jobs and cannot get jobs in future.

"Professor Abdul Razzak Khan Khaleeq, a prominent intellectual of

Azad Kashmir, was removed last year from service because he opposed the merger of Kashmir with Pakistan and taught his students of the 'Zionist designs' of the Jamaat-e-Islami. Instead of fundamentalism, he used to spread enlightenment in the educational institutions. He used to talk of independence instead of subjugation and expose the intrigues of the civilian and military bureaucracy."

In PoK, industrial development during the 42 years of Pakistani occupation has been poor. The only industrial units which have come up are a textile spinning mill and a vegetable oil unit at Mirpur, a wool-weaving mill and a match factory at Muzaffarabad and scooter and video-cassette units in the public sector. Industrial estates are reported to have been set up only in three district headquarters.

In contrast, there were 720 registered factories in Jammu & Kashmir in the Indian Union in 1985-86 and about 17,000 registered small scale units. Industrial areas have been set up in all district headquarters and in main towns connected by roads.

In PoK, development of agriculture and industry is poor and the only sectors in which there has been some development are those related to meet the needs of the Pakistani occupation forces and not aimed at improving the living conditions of the people. No wonder, road construction has registered some progress.

Some Indian commentators and politicians have opined that the unemployment is the breeder of terrorism in the Valley. But contrary to the popular impression, the fact is that — as per the information furnished on the floor of the Legislative Assembly during the last session (August 1989) — there were only 69,099 educated unemployed youth in June 1989 on the live registers of the employment exchanges in all the 14 districts of Jammu & Kashmir state. Out of these, 23,191 were in Jammu district alone. It means that 34 per cent of the educated unemployed youth hailed from Jammu district alone.

On the other hand, there were 26,784 educated unemployed youth in six districts of the Kashmir region — Srinagar, Budgam, Anantnag, Pulwama, Baramulla and Kupwara. Out of these unemployed youth, only 4,161 were provided with employment during the first quarter of the financial year, ending on March 31, 1990. Among them the share of Jammu district is only 10 per cent.

As per available data, 16,310 vacancies were waiting to be filled in various departments of the State Government by the end of the financial year, ending on March 31, 1989. During the month of March 1989, 15,181 persons were recruited by the State Government in the gazetted, non-gazetted and Class IV cadres.

Another interesting feature of the continuing menace of terrorism is that majority of terrorists under the umbrella of Islamic fundamentalists such as Jamaat-e-Islami have pretensions of Islamic brotherhood irrespective of creed and colour. But they do not lag behind in exploiting the economically and socially backward communities within the fold of Islam. Gujjar and Bakerwal communities in J & K are glaring examples of such discrimination.

Gujjars, mostly herdsmen by occupation, are found in most parts of the State. They are said to have migrated from Rajasthan and embraced Islam. They are tall and well-built, with a prominently Jewish cast of features. Their dialect, Gujjari, is now identified as a form of Rajasthani. They raise sheep and cattle and trek , from the warm regions of Jammu up into the high mountains, where they have their small wooden or mud huts, in search of green pastures.

Gujjar and Bakerwal communities among Muslims constitute about 7.6 per cent population of the State. According to Noor Din Kataria, a prominent leader of the Janata Dal in the State, Gujjars and Bakerwals were being neglected in almost all spheres of life in the State. He alleged that the settlements of these communities were neither provided with basic amenities such as drinking water and power, nor were they given jobs, particularly so in the Police Department.

Another Gujjar leader said that these communities faced discrimination at the hands of successive State Governments in J & K as Kashmiri speaking Muslims — at the helm of affairs — always disliked their brethren in these communities. He said there were more than 15 lakh Gujjars in J&K. Taking a cue from the census of 1931 which had been done on the basis of castes, he said that at that time the population of Gujjars in this state was four lakh, and going by the national average growth of population, it must have now reached 15 lakh.

There is the Gujjar Development Board in the State for the welfare of the community. Commenting on its 'achievement', Kataria said that

Azad Kashmir, was removed last year from service because he opposed the merger of Kashmir with Pakistan and taught his students of the 'Zionist designs' of the Jamaat-e-Islami. Instead of fundamentalism, he used to spread enlightenment in the educational institutions. He used to talk of independence instead of subjugation and expose the intrigues of the civilian and military bureaucracy."

In PoK, industrial development during the 42 years of Pakistani occupation has been poor. The only industrial units which have come up are a textile spinning mill and a vegetable oil unit at Mirpur, a wool-weaving mill and a match factory at Muzaffarabad and scooter and video-cassette units in the public sector. Industrial estates are reported to have been set up only in three district headquarters.

In contrast, there were 720 registered factories in Jammu & Kashmir in the Indian Union in 1985-86 and about 17,000 registered small scale units. Industrial areas have been set up in all district headquarters and in main towns connected by roads.

In PoK, development of agriculture and industry is poor and the only sectors in which there has been some development are those related to meet the needs of the Pakistani occupation forces and not aimed at improving the living conditions of the people. No wonder, road construction has registered some progress.

Some Indian commentators and politicians have opined that the unemployment is the breeder of terrorism in the Valley. But contrary to the popular impression, the fact is that — as per the information furnished on the floor of the Legislative Assembly during the last session (August 1989) — there were only 69,099 educated unemployed youth in June 1989 on the live registers of the employment exchanges in all the 14 districts of Jammu & Kashmir state. Out of these, 23,191 were in Jammu district alone. It means that 34 per cent of the educated unemployed youth hailed from Jammu district alone.

On the other hand, there were 26,784 educated unemployed youth in six districts of the Kashmir region — Srinagar, Budgam, Anantnag, Pulwama, Baramulla and Kupwara. Out of these unemployed youth, only 4,161 were provided with employment during the first quarter of the financial year, ending on March 31, 1990. Among them the share of Jammu district is only 10 per cent.

As per available data, 16,310 vacancies were waiting to be filled in various departments of the State Government by the end of the financial year, ending on March 31, 1989. During the month of March 1989, 15,181 persons were recruited by the State Government in the gazetted, non-gazetted and Class IV cadres.

Another interesting feature of the continuing menace of terrorism is that majority of terrorists under the umbrella of Islamic fundamentalists such as Jamaat-e-Islami have pretensions of Islamic brotherhood irrespective of creed and colour. But they do not lag behind in exploiting the economically and socially backward communities within the fold of Islam. Gujjar and Bakerwal communities in J & K are glaring examples of such discrimination.

Gujjars, mostly herdsmen by occupation, are found in most parts of the State. They are said to have migrated from Rajasthan and embraced Islam. They are tall and well-built, with a prominently Jewish cast of features. Their dialect, Gujjari, is now identified as a form of Rajasthani. They raise sheep and cattle and trek , from the warm regions of Jammu up into the high mountains, where they have their small wooden or mud huts, in search of green pastures.

Gujjar and Bakerwal communities among Muslims constitute about 7.6 per cent population of the State. According to Noor Din Kataria, a prominent leader of the Janata Dal in the State, Gujjars and Bakerwals were being neglected in almost all spheres of life in the State. He alleged that the settlements of these communities were neither provided with basic amenities such as drinking water and power, nor were they given jobs, particularly so in the Police Department.

Another Gujjar leader said that these communities faced discrimination at the hands of successive State Governments in J & K as Kashmiri speaking Muslims — at the helm of affairs — always disliked their brethren in these communities. He said there were more than 15 lakh Gujjars in J&K. Taking a cue from the census of 1931 which had been done on the basis of castes, he said that at that time the population of Gujjars in this state was four lakh, and going by the national average growth of population, it must have now reached 15 lakh.

There is the Gujjar Development Board in the State for the welfare of the community. Commenting on its 'achievement', Kataria said that

funds were misused by the ruling politicians managing the board. He alleged that the funds, earmarked for the welfare of Gujjars, never reached them. There is a general feeling among Gujjars that despite the claimed development during the last 40 years, they have remained backward and steeped in abject poverty. They seem to have fallen victim to the political expediency. They have neither received any favours from the National Conference of the Abdullah family nor from Islamic fundamentalists. Not even from Pakistan, as they were instrumental in containing the intrusion of Pakistani forces on a grand scale way back in 1947 and 1965.

Another victim of the cult of violence is the educational system in the State. It has been under great strain for the last three years. Many schools, colleges and some reputed public libraries with a rich collection of books, have been set ablaze and reduced to ashes. While 1,700 Government schools in the Valley did not have their own building and were being run in hired accommodation, 244 school buildings were damaged or gutted in terrorist activities in the Valley. These included 79 primary schools, 81 middle schools, 63 high schools and 21 higher secondary schools.

Commenting on this state of affairs, *Srinagar Times*, an Urdu daily newspaper from Srinagar, wrote in its issue of June 11, 1992 : "... Presently a militant struggle is going on in Kashmir. It is being said that this struggle has been launched to enable the Kashmiri nation to lead an honourable life. In the meantime, the school buildings are being burnt down. The school buildings became the targets from the very beginning of the current spate of militancy. Neither any body is thinking about this serious problem nor any serious debate is being carried out on this very issue. The burning down of school buildings is a serious problem. The present situation in Kashmir has put a spoke on educational activities. Whatever schools are left, and where teaching has been continued, there, too, students attend their classes with great difficulty. Most of the educational institutions remain closed due to the present turmoil. Examinations are not held on time, and are being repeatedly postponed due to the abnormal conditions and circumstances. The valuable time of the students is being wasted. The poor are the worst affected due to the burning down of educational institutions and the prevailing abnormal conditions. Children from middle and lower classes of society are neither

receiving education at homes nor in schools. On the other hand, the capitalist class has made proper arrangements for the education of their children. They have admitted their wards in educational and professional institutions outside Kashmir . . .

"This situation will result in a new class struggle in the society. The children from well-to-do families will garner high official positions on the strength of their education and wealth and will hold society under their sway. This very class has already acquired big assets worth lakhs due to their social exploitation. The children of poor people will remain no more than coolies. The intermittent incidents of burning the schools evoke nothing but the feelings of sorrow on this state of affairs. The problem remains unsolved. The school buildings continue to burn. The atmosphere in the centres of learning is vitiated . . .

"The educational system in Kashmir is in great turmoil. In this turmoil, an attempt is being made to climb on the ladder of success through improper means. There is interference in the university; in the Board of School Education; in the schools; and in the examination centres. The schools continue to be burnt down. In all these incidents, the brunt is being borne by the poor people . . .

". . . Due to wrong attitudes the educational institutions are being destroyed and the whole nation is being pushed towards ignorance . . ."

The mentors of secessionists seem to be aware of the fact that education of girls in the Valley began with Muslims, while of boys with Pandits (Hindus). In the beginning of the current century, the total number of literates in Srinagar city was 8,326, including 50 females. The 1911 census stated that the total number of literate persons was less than 65,000 and their proportion per mile was only 38 in the case of males and one in case of females. According to the 1921 census, there was on an average one literate female to over 15 literate males. The proportion of literate women to the total female population aged 5 and over, was three per thousand. Neither a Hindu nor a Muslim female was familiar with English but a Sikh woman was literate in English.

In the 1931 census there were only 9,078 female literates against 1,14,807 male literates. During the next census in 1941, among the literates 46.27 per cent were women. But fundamentalists are out to put the clock back as literacy, particularly among women, was a potent

impediment in their adaption of obscurantism.

Accepting the reality, Khalida Islam from Hawthorne (U.S.) wrote a letter which was carried by *The Statesman* in early 1990. She said, 'Kashmiri dissidents do injustice to Srinagar and New Delhi by trying to bolster their arguments with unfounded allegations. It is a travesty of the truth to accuse 'imperialist' India of economically exploiting the State. Kashmir is among the wealthier states of the Union (India). If dissidents want to witness abject poverty, they should go down from their 'paradise on earth' and travel to Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. If the dissidents are not happy with the level of capital investment in their State, they must blame themselves.

"Article 370 of the Constitution (of India) precludes ownership of immovable 'property' in Kashmir by Indians from outside the State. As long as the Kashmiris insist on this provision, they will not be able to attract private investment from outside.

"Kashmir dissidents forget that tourism and the federal subsidy for food and education in Kashmir results in a net inflow of wealth into Kashmir from the rest of the nation. Not surprisingly, 16 States of the Union have a per capita income lower than Kashmir's. Kashmiris should count their blessings. The State Government can ensure capital investment with a determined attempt at resource mobilization. Kashmir, after all, is in a far better position to do so than Bihar or Eastern Uttar Pradesh. Unfortunately, the ineptitude of the State Government and the lack of entrepreneural spirit among Kashmiris come in the way."

These deficiencies provided a fertile breeding ground to the menace of obscurantist forces, who were always present in the Valley but their wings were clipped in the past. This time they had a field day for indulgence in their nefarious designs. *Joining issues with Maulana Masoodi — another towering political personality in the Valley — Sheikh Abdullah in a public meeting once outrageously remarked, "Behind every hair in the beard of Maulana Masoodi, hides a satan."*

VI

Mullaism

Kashmiryat — the lofty notion of belonging to one region — nourished by Kashmiris, irrespective of their faith, for centuries despite gravest provocations lies bruised in the wake of the current phase of secessionism in the Valley. Terrorist outfits groomed by the Jamaat-e-Islami (Jamaat) have outwitted those who professed their allegiance to secularism.

The Jamaat presents Islam as a political ideology — and not as religious pedagogy concerned only with the relationship between man and God. Abul Ala Maududi, the founder of the Jamaat, had no hesitation in making it explicit that Islam was a political ideology comparable to Communism and Fascism. According to him, it covered all departments of life, whether private or public.

The Jamaat also presents Islam as a creed whose mission is to fight all other creeds because it believes Islam to be the only true creed — all other creeds being flawed or false. Maududi reasoned that just as God has made the laws that govern physical nature, He has also made laws that govern social relations. The first set of laws can be ascertained by observation and experimentation. But God conveys the second set of laws concerning man's duties towards God and his fellow human beings only through revelations. Accordingly, divine messages have been transmitted to mankind from time to time through prophets.

The Quran says that God had sent prophets to all nations, the last one being Prophet Mohammad. It follows that all religions have emanated from one God and no religion can claim superiority over others. But Maududi adds a caveat here, which, in turn, opens the flood-gates of discord. He argues that no religion except Islam has preserved the divine message in its entirety and without it being distorted by the vicissitudes of time. Hence, Islam has precedence over all other religions.

Another feature of Maududi's ideology is that he singles out secularism as the chief adversary of Islam. He argues that secularism makes a distinction between the personal life of an individual and his public life, and banishes religion from the latter. Hence, anyone who believes in secularism will inevitably allow his secular values to influence his social, political and economic behaviour and thus violate the teachings of Islam, which draw no line between the domain of the spirit and that of the flesh.

Some ideologues of the Jamaat go a step further and argue that secularism is the road that leads to atheism because when you separate your personal beliefs from your social and political principles, the latter develop their own momentum and eventually dominate the former.

The Jamaat is not only communal in its outlook, it teaches militancy as well. Communalism of a minority community often centres on grievances of a political or economic nature and tends to be paranoid.

The Jamaat brand of communalism, however, is not concerned about immediate or short-term gains for the community. It projects Islam as an ideology and calls upon Muslims to organise themselves into a revolutionary party with the object of capturing total power. It is not bothered about jobs for Muslims or for a share in the power pie. On the contrary, the Jamaat requires its members not to hold any office under an unholy political system or alliance.

Maududi was the first noteworthy religious figure in the history of Indian Islam to propound the thesis that the supreme purpose of Islam is not the spiritual salvation of mankind; but to establish the sovereignty of God on earth or an Islamic state. All other purposes are secondary and subordinate to that of establishing an Islamic state. Before launching the Jamaat, he did a great deal of preparatory work which included the compilation and dissemination of literature. This he did initially through

his magazine *Tarjuman-al-Quran*, which he started at Hyderabad (Deccan) in 1932 and later shifted to Pathankot — which also became the headquarters of the Jamaat — shortly before 1941. Chaudhary Niaz Ali Khan had provided a building to house it there.

On the other hand, the Jamaat in Kashmir has come a long way since its inception in the Valley way back in 1942, in Shopian (now in Pulwama district) by Maulvi Ghulam Ahmad of Arharr, his colleague Syed Said-ud-Din (who had been active since 1939) and four or five like-minded persons. The strategy of Jamaat in Kashmir has had to be two-pronged: It had to follow the strategy of the Jamaat-e-Islami (Hind) as well as to adjust itself to the native Muslim population of the State. Following the guidelines and strategy, laid down by Maulana Maududi at the time of the partition, the Jamaat in Kashmir, like the Jamaat in India, had to remain contented within the Indian Union and work for the establishment of 'Hukumat-e-Illahi' and even try for the theocratic rule of Kafirs (infidels) rather than to yield and subject itself to the secular life persued by the Congress Government and supported by other progressive and nationalist parties. Maududi, however, opted for Pakistan and migrated from India.

But in Kashmir, adherence to the guidelines was a bad strategy, as the Muslim population — by and large — maintained that Kashmir's accession to India was disputed. The Jamaat worked with dedication and tactfully to bring more and more people into its fold. Right from the start, they pursued a policy of recruiting educated young men. They laid stress on the qualitative growth rather than on the quantitative expansion in the first instance. Moreover, the latter was not possible in the Valley as people were more-or-less followers of the Sufi cult. Therefore, qualitative growth was emphasized to penetrate into educational institutions, both private and public. On the other hand, institutions, run by the Jamaat, were established to impart 'deen-i-Taleem' to young boys in different parts of the State.

The Jamaat in Kashmir severed its relations with the Jamaat-e-Islami (Hind) in 1953 as the Kashmir unit did not recognize the accession of Jammu & Kashmir to India. Moreover, the State unit was not averse to participation in the elections which was contrary to the stand of the Jamaat (Hind).

The Jamaat, kept subtly creeping into the politics of the State. In the beginning, it was not taken seriously but soon after Sheikh Abdullah came to power, following accession of the State to India, he smacked the challenge. The Jamaat opposed the Sheikh because he represented secular forces. Though he was deeply religious and even used religious platforms to lead his followers, he was a Kashmiri who believed in the Sufi cult and paid obeisance at Sufi Shrines and mausoleums. He was extremely popular among Muslims in the State. Besides, he had a charismatic personality and he stood tall enough to be head and shoulders above the rest of the leaders in the State. As a result, he proved to be a great impediment in the growth and activities of the Jamaat.

When the Sheikh was ousted from power in 1953, the Jamaat made a thrust ahead with quiet determination. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, successor of the Sheikh, extended tacit support to the Jamaat's activities. He wooed everyone who was against the Sheikh. However, G.M. Sadiq who replaced Bakshi (barring a brief period of 99 days when Shamshuddin was the Prime Minister) isssued a blanket ban on the Jamaat's centres of 'Tableegh' and education. But the successor of Sadiq, Syed Mir Qasim, lifted the ban and used the Jamaat activists for political expediency.

The Jamaat always used to bear profound grudge against the Sheikh who did not believe in the two-nation theory and was instrumental, according to fundamentalists, in denying the right to accede to Pakistan though the State population was predominantly Muslim.

It got an opportunity to build up its following in the wake of the arrest of the Sheikh in 1953 but did not make much headway till the seventies when it succeeded in making inroads among students. In 1977, it launched the Islami Jamiat-e-Tulba — the students wing of the party.

In his inaugural address to the first annual session of the Jamiat-e-Tulba held at Srinagar in July 1978, the founder-president Ashraf Sahrai referred to 'the Kashmir question' and compared the struggle of a section of the people of Kashmir for independence to the ongoing liberation struggles elsewhere in the world. " Despite the sermons delivered at the UN headquarters in New York on 'live and let live' he declared . . . "the Kashmir question, the Palestine problem, the civil war in Lebanon, the freedom struggle in Eritrea, the Philippines Muslims' demand for

regional self-determination, the question of independence for the Cypriot Turks, and the issue of transferring power to Black majorities in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia, threaten armed conflagrations in the regions concerned, nay in the whole world."

He further lamented that despite the change in the country's leadership following the victory of the Janata Party, "the Kashmir dispute remained unresolved."

Earlier in the June 18, 1970 issue of *Azan*, the mouthpiece of the Jamaat, Said-ud-Din wrote: " Communalism is the product of emotions and volatile love." Joining issues with him, Maqbool Ahmed, a prominent journalist of Srinagar, wrote in an article under the pen-name of Ayesha Batt in the July 8-9, 1970 issue of *Chinar*, an Urdu daily of Srinagar: "In other words, to whip up the emotions of a particular community over some issue or against some particular person is communalism. Let us accept this proposition for argument's sake. Then why did the members of the Jamaat object to and obstruct Acharya Vinoba's reciting the holy Quran in 1959 at Sopore? Why did they attack, in an irreligious manner, the Acharya's beliefs and his philosophy of Bhoodan? Why were his physical constitution and his dress vituperated and laughed to scorn? Why did they ignite the emotions of Muslims of Sopore and provoke them to demonstrate against Acharya Vinoba Bhave? Was not this conduct of the Jamaat and the treatment it meted out to the Acharya the worst example of emotionalism and volatile love?"

In the 1972 Assembly elections, the Jamaat, had succeeded in securing five seats with the alleged connivance of the ruling Congress party. Qasim had wished to exploit the militancy of the ranks of the Jamaat to counter the activities of the Plebiscite Front. The strategy of Qasim misfired as the Jamaat gained maximum at the cost of the Congress. Even in the 1971 Lok Sabha elections, it had secured as many as 14.98 per cent of the votes polled in three constituencies in the Valley.

The Jamaat opposed Sheikh Abdullah's accord with Indira Gandhi in 1975. It was during the Emergency that the Jamaat leaders were lodged behind the bars and 'Darsgahs' of the Jamaat were sealed. In order to thrust ahead, the Jamaat opposed other Muslim alliances, which may have posed a threat to its growth. Following its acquisition of five seats

in the Assembly elections, it decided to field its candidates for the civic elections of 1976 (which, however, could not be held). The Jamaat, in opposition to the alliance between the Plebiscite Front and the Awami Action Committee of Maulvi Farooq, had decided to put up six candidates in Srinagar, three in Anantnag, eight in Sopore and seven in Baramulla. The Jamaat condemned the alliance as dictatorial and fascist. They dubbed the Sheikh as 'anything but a democrat' which irked Mirza Afzal Beg so much that he charged the Jamaat with unduly straying into politics and exposed the wide ideological gap between the preachings and practice of its leaders.

In the 1977 elections, the Jamaat entered into a limited understanding on a minimum programme with the Janata Party and won one Assembly seat from Sopore, though it had fielded 19 candidates. It had even fielded a candidate against Sheikh Abdullah from the Ganderbal constituency, which was a pocket borough for the Sheikh. In the Assembly elections, the Jamaat could secure only 62,652 votes from an electoral college which had more than 26 lakh voters.

Earlier, the Jamaat fielded Syed Ali Shah Geelani — one of its committed leaders — as an independent candidate from the Baramulla constituency in the 1977 Lok Sabha elections. He secured 23.9 per cent of the votes polled, while the winning candidate of the National Conference could get only 30.2 per cent of the votes polled.

In 1983 Assembly elections, the Jamaat drew a blank though the number of votes netted by it registered a rise. It had put up candidates on 26 seats as against 23 in 1977. In the 1987 Assembly elections, the Muslim United Front (MUF) of the Jamaat and other like-minded parties succeeded in cornering 4 seats amidst allegations of widespread rigging of elections. A good number of young men who had come out openly in favour of the MUF became disillusioned and adopted the cult of gun which was soon to play havoc in the Valley.

The very fact that the Jamaat fought the last four Assembly elections directly bears out that it had given up confining itself to just social and religious fields. The party had finally come to establish itself as a political force to be reckoned with but it had so far refrained from a categorical opposition to the Centre. Such a strategy led to differences which cropped up within its rank and file. The hardliners led by Said-ud-Din

and Ghulam Mohammad Butt demanded that the party should take a clear-cut stand vis-a-vis Kashmir's accession to India. The view was strongly supported by the Jamiat-e-Tulba, the youth wing of the party, led by Tajmul Islam who later fled to Nepal. Syed Ali Shah Geelani tried his best to accommodate the extremist view in the resolutions and the programmes adopted in the party's annual conference in 1982.

In the meantime, the Jamaat convened an international conference at Srinagar with the blessings of Sheikh Abdullah. A number of delegates from Kuwait, the UAE and Saudi Arabia, including the Imam of Kaaba, turned up to attend it. The development helped the Jamaat in making a deep dent into the somewhat reticent Muslim population of the Valley. The conference even passed a resolution demanding the solution of the Kashmir problem in keeping with the UN resolution.

The Jamiat-e-Tulba, the youth wing of the Jamaat, was also directed by the party to hold an international Muslim youth conference at Srinagar on the lines of the successful international conference of the Jamaat. However, in the wake of the stiff opposition from the Centre, the proposed conference was not held.

The Jamaat chose certain 'model Islamic bastis' to try their fundamentalist politics. They also established some Islamic courts and asked the people to withdraw their suits from courts of law and bring them before the religious courts and accept their verdict in accordance with the Shariat law. In October 1982 they also started a programme of imparting Islamic education. In the beginning they took up seven to eight villages in the rural areas in each district to establish Islamic Darsgahs to impart instructions to the young and even to the adult population.

In order to cover the systematic programme of expansion and consolidation of Jamaat's influence, the party directed its cadre to develop contacts with non-Muslims as well. It even tried to organise womenfolk in Muslim areas under the name of 'Shoba-i-Khowateen'. Its main activity was confined to propagation of Islamic education and developing social behaviour among women in tune with the Islamic dicta.

The organisational head of the Jamaat in Kashmir is called Amir-i-Jamaat and his term lasts three years. At present, Hakim Ghulam Nabi is holding this post. The Amir is helped and advised by a working committee called 'Majlis Shoora', which is also elected by the general

council, comprising delegates from basic units, spread over the urban as well as rural centres. In 1985, the Jamaat set up a body called 'Majlis Numayendigan' which in turn helps the Majlis Shoora in executing the policies, framed by the latter. The membership of the Jamaat is of four types — Rukuns (die-hards), Hamdards (ordinary members), Muqtarsarin (influenced) and Muqtafaqin (those nearer to the ideology). The strength of Rukuns runs into about 10,000, while the strength of Hamdards touches around 25,000 in the State and the total number of the last two categories was put at over 50,000 in 1986. Since then the strength of the Jamaat in all categories has, alarmingly, increased manifold.

The Jamaat used to run about 300 schools in the Valley with an enrolment of about 40,000 students. Besides, the Jamaat and its student wing are fairly active in Government schools and colleges and on the campus of Kashmir University. A fundamentalist women outfit, known as 'Dukhtaran-i-Millat,' was also instrumental in organising a protest march in February 1990 in the Valley.

All categories of Jamaat members are required to pay 10 per cent of their earnings to the organisation, while the top two categories of the members are also required to contribute the skin of the sacrificed animals to the organisation.

In 1989, a few months before the outbreak of large-scale terrorism, the Jamaat decided to bid adieu to the politics of elections and directed its four legislators to resign from the Assembly. Only three of them obliged.

However, the temperament of Kashmiris is difficult to understand. Ashiq Kashmiri in the *Tarikh: Hurriat-e-Islami* — a history of the Jamaat in J&K — wrote that soon after Z.A. Bhutto, former Prime Minister of Pakistan, was hanged in a murder case on April 4, 1979, the anti-Jamaat people unleashed their fury on the Jamaat activists for three days. One person died in the violence in which 26 mosques were burnt. He estimated a loss of Rs. 40 crore to the properties belonging to the Jamaat and its activists. The beards of the Jamaat activists were shaven off forcibly by the agitated Muslims. The damaged properties included 1,245 houses burnt, 466 houses looted, 513 foodgrain godowns burnt, 22 factories burnt, 338 shops burnt, 70 orchards cut, 509 cowsheds burnt and 24 Jamaat offices burnt, 45 Jamaat schools looted, 651 Jamaat

libraries burnt, two cars, one mobike and one truck burnt.

Soon after assuming office for the second time, Governer Jagmohan banned a number of secessionist and terrorist organisations, including the Jamaat. He also ordered the taking over of the educational institutions run by the outfits of the Jamaat-e-Islami. But *Organiser*, the mouthpiece of the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh in its issue of September 15, 1991 regretted that though these institutions were taken over by the Government, there had been little change in the staff and even the books taught in these educational institutions remained the same. The only marked difference was the change of the paymaster.

The weekly alleged that in 1988, when the situation in the Valley was fast deteriorating and fundamentalists were openly opting for aggressive postures, the then Chief Minister Dr. Farooq Abdullah announced in and outside the State Assembly that he would not permit the Jamaat or anybody else to use educational institutions to 'poison the young minds'. He had even threatened to close down all these institutions. But contrary to the bold statements, in March 1989, the National Conference-Congress (I) coalition Government gave recognition to as many as 51 new educational institutions, out of which 39 were those of the Jamaat outfits. All these educational institutions used to get huge sums as grant-in-aid from the State Government.

Discussing the socio-economic roots of terrorism in the State, Peer Giyas-ud-Din, former J&K Minister, exhaustively traces the growth of Mullaism, the institution of Muslim priests. He says, "Islam recognized only one institution — Imam. The term is used in the Quran. The Imam is the leader of prayers in the mosque. When there are three persons, one of them must act as Imam to lead the prayers. It is not considered a hereditary institution. Islam also does not recognise the institution of 'Mirwaiz' which is in vogue in Kashmir. It is an indigenous growth.

"In the early Islamic phase in the middle east these institutions consisting of intellectuals were pristine pure, confined to the religious aspect of Islam. Khalifa was a political head and administrator who maintained these classes of people.

"But with the degeneration of Islamic empires (Khalifas) the institution of Muslim priesthood has become a centre of vested interest, a class of exploiters and main levers of reaction, fundamentalism, defenders of

dictatorship, imperialism and status quo. Mullas countered modernist and rational trends of Sir Syed, Maulana Azad, Maulana Shibli, Shah Wali Ullah and Iqbal in the sub-continent. In Pakistan, they were the active defenders of worst dictatorships and even today are the main prop of the military. In Turkey and Afghanistan, mullas opposed secularism and modernity, propounded by Mustafa Kamal and Amanullah Khan, respectively. In Egypt, they were vehement critics of Gamal Nasir, the main architect of Arab nationalism.

"With the rise of 'liberation theory' in Islam on the basis of Quran and Sunna, the two primary sources of Islamic faith can liberate not only Muslims but the entire humanity. The traditional and fundamentalist mullas are on the defensive and on retreat in most of the Islamic countries such as Algeria, Morocco, Tunis, Libya, Egypt, Turkey and Central Asian Republics .

"With the advent of the Dogra rule in Kashmir, the process of secularism set in. Dogras modernised legal and judicial system on the basis of English laws and the same were applied to the State. Mullaism, symbolized in the institutions of Qazi, Mufti and Maulvi, was relegated into insignificance. Post-Independence constitutions further augmented and gave a spurt to the process. Maulvis, Qazis and Muftis saw their fate sealed in the secular India and looked out for merger with Pakistan,where they could rule the roost on the basis of the Pak model of Shariat laws.

"Mullaism, the institution of Muslim priests, has held key positions in social life of Kashmir. Their domination for a long time was unchallengable. The traditional Mullaism of indigenous origin evolved an institution 'Mirwaiz', the head preacher which does not exist anywhere in the rest of the Islamic world. The other species who emigrated form Central Asia during 'Timur's invasion and repression' constitute alien mullas — Andrabis, Qadiri, Suhravardy, Bukhari, Chisti, Samnani, Fazili, Kamili, Ashai, Naqashbandi, Geelani, Qureshi, Qazis, etc. They monopolized trade, political power and priesthood. There have been serious conflicts between Kashmiri people and alien Mullas.

"The local priesthood was exponent of mystic message, a Rishi order (Bhakti) and its main proponents were Nunda Rishi, Lalleshwari and lower clergy peers. The traditional mullas represented by 'Mirwaiz' were props of feudalism, autocracy and acted hand in glove with local ex-

ploiters — Khawajas (big traders).

"Even during the Muslim Conference phase they tried to oppose and squeeze the first people's rumblings against the establishment, opposed the National Conference and political struggle for freedom. With the rising crescendo of Pakistan slogan, this class identified itself with that. In 1947, they opposed Kashmir's accession to India. The last of the barons of the Mirwaiz family was Maulvi Farooq who was shot dead in May 1990 by Muslim fundamentalists. However, his followers have extended recognition to his son Omar Farooq as his successor.

"The assertion made by this traditional Mulla trend represented by Mirwaiz was that 'mosque' is a weapon and this weapon is relevant in politics than the weapons in vogue. More-or-less, this trend of Mullaism was liberal not fundamentalist and upheld the traditional communal harmony in Kashmir though Maulvi Yusuf Shah and Maulvi Farooq stood for religious intolerance.

"The alien Mullaism was quite different in its approaches and perceptions. It had roots of fundamentalism and fanaticism. Socially, this strata felt superior to common Kashmiri Muslims and had their adherents among traders, feudal gentry and ruling class. They wielded power during all regimes — Pathans, Mughals, Sikhs and Dogras. In their lap was nurtured the first Muslim intelligentsia, though very small in number.

"This category of priests disseminated fundamentalist philosophy and were founders of Jamaat-e-Islami in Kashmir. They were opposed to Kashmiri nationalism and secular movement and displayed their vehement resistance to radical land reforms, modern education and rights to womenfolk. Today this segment of mullas constitutes bed-rock of secessionism and militancy in Kashmir. They express vigorously the demand that Kashmir should be a virtual theocratic Muslim state. Jamaat is the main lever of the Muslim United Front and its hard-core constitutes the armed wing 'Hizb-ul-Mujahideen'. This cult of mullas is the brain behind the 'militant' regressive social reforms — putting women in veil (burqa), restricted marriage parties, enforcement of prohibition (liquor), punishment for teasing girls, etc. On the face of them, these appear to be positive steps but there are instances as per their own admission that certain section of militants indulge in molestation, rape and extortions".

Talking about the bureaucrats who helped growth of secessionist movement in the Valley and their connection with obscurantists, Dr. Kailas N. Pradhan writes, "Most of the Kashmiri bureaucrats had been catapulted to their positions of power and influence not on their merit and ability but being as members of a 'long oppressed majority community'. Only a few of them came through the channel of selection, though in most cases, those selections have been doubted by the analysts. The non-committed bureaucrats managed acquisition of wealth through illegal means; wealth disproportionate to the means of income and with no accountability. With wealth and administrative power in their hand, Kashmiri Muslim bureaucrats established close links with the sections of Kashmiri Muslims who had also acquired wealth more through illegal and clandestine means than through the sweat of the brow . . . The upper class moved in a subtle manner and used the art of sycophancy which is the exclusive quality of a Kashmiri. They managed to seize the mosque by enrolling themselves as the members of the mosque committee . . . Members of the upper class infiltrated all committees functioning under the broad banner of welfare and reform committees. In other words, they neutralized what originally was an anti-capitalist, anti- bureaucratic move . . . They became the staunch supporters of the Jamaat-e-Islami and used the instrument of religion to shield themselves from any impounding danger." (K.N. Pradhan, *Kashmir Society: New Contours, The Kashmir Times*, Nov. 13, 14 and 15, 1990).

In July 1991, Javid Zahid, a terrorist, in an open letter to militants from prison said, "The time has proved that the gun has not proved solution of the Kashmir crisis. It is today clear to every citizen of the Valley that the barrel of the gun is pointed towards one direction i.e. destruction. We should realize that our boat has not yet sailed. We can call the sailor back to the harbour. We have not lost much in the Valley. It is our foremost duty to save at least what is left and forget whatever happened. This should be our greatest 'Jehad' (religious crusade). We have seen during the last few years the havoc played by the gun but inspite of our best of efforts, our efforts yielded nothing, Why? Because we took 'Jehad' as acts of terrorism. We were motivated in the name of 'Jehad' but we realized soon that it was an effort to motivate the youth to join the secessionist movement for other designs".

Even as early as July 1970, Maqbool Ahmed wrote in a long article in the daily *Chinar* of Srinagar — in its issues of July 8 and 9, 1970 — "May God save that crusade which has a mulla as its chief." The mullas' crusade was extended credibility by the media, which willingly advanced the 'cause' of terrorists and their mentors -- in and outside the strife-torn Valley.

VII

The Mortgaged Media

The media in Kashmir have probably done more than terrorist organizations themselves to make organised violence at the hands of fundamentalists glamorous and successful. Violence, of course makes a good copy. It makes an exciting reading, and in a free Press, journalists report and editors print what they believe to be exciting for their readers. In Kashmir, newspersons even provide terrorists with an ideal forum for the contextual justification of the latter's acts. They, in part, enable terrorists to assume the 'mask of omnipotence' rather than the 'mask of villainy'. They believe in sensationalising the stories — being more interested in tears and grief than in the substance of the story — and go to any length on account of their obtrusiveness and preconceived notion. In this particular context the freedom of the Press is being consistently abused or at least mainpulated cynically and irresponsibly.

Militancy, terrorism or secessionism, besides Islamic fundamentalism, did not grow overnight. Neither did the trend of misreporting from Kashmir. It originated and flourished in phases. Describing it, O.N. Dhar — a former bureaucrat and a freelance journalist — in an article in the October 13, 1990 issue of *The Hindu* observed: "Distortions in reporting on Kashmir have been endemic ever since freedom came to this former fiefdom of the Maharajas and playground of the colonial rulers in the aftermath of an invasion by tribal hordes and Pakistani irregulars in

October 1947. While the people under Sheikh Abdullah's leadership were valiantly fighting to hold back the onrush of marauders despatched by Jinnah to punish them for having shown disrespect to him during his visit to Srinagar on the eve of the partition, some London newspapers were reporting that Kashmiris had risen in revolt against the Hindu Maharaja and were fighting for being a part of Pakistan!

"In 1953 when the Sheikh — the then Prime Minister of J&K — reacting to a violent agitation in Jammu against the alleged Kashmiri domination spoke of an autonomous status for the Valley, an influential segment of the national Press had no qualms in charging him with a desire to carve out a 'Sultanate of Kashmir' with himself as its sultan! His son, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, who was the darling of this same Press from 1981 to 1985, suddenly became an object of derision and even hate as soon as he became an ally of the Congress.

"Stalwarts of the State's freedom struggle such as the late Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq whom the keepers of the nation's conscience portrayed as heroes during their tenure as Chief Ministers (Prime Minister and Chief Minister, respectively) came to be branded as 'quislings' by some of them under the impact of the new 'awakening' brought about by the fury of the guns and grenades let loose by the 'militant-liberators' in the unfortunate Valley by the Pak intelligence agencies. What Pakistan's systematic disinformation could not achieve in a span of over four decades was accomplished by its armed mercenaries in less than two years.

"A section of the Indian media, it seemed, had suddenly felt the pangs of conscience and wanted to wash itself clean of an accumulated guilt of decades. That the process should have laid bare their fragile beliefs, their own lack of conviction in the sanctity of the Fourth Estate and the superficiality of their past and present perceptions and formulations could hardly have bothered these historians in a hurry."

Commenting on the same subject, Peer Gayas-ud-Din — a prominent politician who also edited *Daily Chinar* from Srinagar in the seventies — wrote in his book *Understanding the Kashmiri Insurgency*: "Press in Kashmir in pre-Independence and post-Independence phases manifests sharp ideological and political divergences in its approaches to the problem of communalism, and secularism . . . The events took a sharp

turn. There was thaw in the realm of journalistic pursuits. Newspapers surfaced on the scene but the people's 'right to know' was polluted, misused . . . Look to the files of dailies of Srinagar, during the Bangladesh episode or on the Kashmir problem one can mark the stance. The canards were spread regarding newspapers holding values and professionalism. One can make a difference after perusing the files of the *Daily Chinar*.

"Examine the files of leading Urdu newspapers in the Valley since 1965 till date; one will notice the cynical and amoral stand-point and judgment of values as reflected in the Kashmir media and the self-serving reading of the Pak situation."

Two booklets, published by the Directorate of Information of the J&K State Government in August 1989 — when the Farooq Abdullah Government wanted to introduce Press censorship — are replete with glaring misuse of the freedom of the Press, particularly by the Srinagar newspapers. Journalists succeeded in stalling the Press Censorship Bill by pointing out that there were already a number of laws and provisions to bring the guilty newspapers and newsmen to book.

However, the Srinagar Press continued to lift anti-India and pro-secessionist articles and interviews from the Pak newspapers and publish them prominently in their columns.

The Srinagar Press has been caught between the devil and the deep sea as it faces physical danger from terrorists if it refuses to toe their diktats and, on the other hand, the pressure from the Directorate of Information if it fails to discharge its duties effectively in the surcharged atmosphere. No wonder, Mohammad Shaban, editor of the Al Safa, was assassinated by terrorists when he wanted to carve out a position for himself among terrorists by allowing the use of the columns of his newspaper for a section of terrorists and condemning the others. On the other hand, P. N. Handoo, and Syed Ghulam Nabi, Assistant and Joint Director of the State Information Department respectively; and Lassa Kaul, Director of Srinagar Doordarshan Kendra, were assassinated. Significantly all the three, overtly or covertly, adhered to the lofty slogan of 'Kashmiryat'.

The mushrooming of local news agencies is a peculiar phenomenon. These agencies are generally a one-man show and cyclostyled news items are fed to local newspapers. No one knows their charges and

keeping in view the financial conditions of most of the local subscribers (nothing more than scandalous sheets), one is tempted to presume that the local news agencies get nothing in return. However, these services are subscribed to by the embassies of some middle east countries in New Delhi at a fabulous amount. These agencies often act as platforms for terrorist outfits. The programmes of boycott, black-out and hartal are circulated for the public through these agencies.

So preoccupied are local newsmen and newspapers with the activities of subversives, terrorists and their mentors across the border that they seldom have time to cover other activities. In late October 1989, the North Zone Cultural Centre (NZCC), with its headquarters at Patiala in Punjab, organised a cultural show at Chandahar, a village, about 15 km from Srinagar. J&K State is a member of this centre. Chandahar is the village where Kashmir's famous poetess Habba Khatoon was born. The Governor was the chief guest at that function. The NZCC had arranged for vehicles to take journalists to that village that evening but only two representatives of the national newspapers and a correspondent of an English language weekly from Delhi, attended the show.

In mid-1989, the Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI) opened its office in Srinagar to boost industrial development. Shortly before the 1989 Lok Sabha elections, the local manager was instructed by his Delhi office to publicise the achievement of his branch in local newspapers. He approached one of the prominent newspapers from Srinagar with a Press note. The owner-cum-editor of the paper glanced through the Press note and asked for Rs.200 for its publication. The IDBI manager was taken aback. He pointed out that it was a Press release, not an advertisement. The editor said that in that case Rs.400 would be charged as a news item gets more attention. The manager pleaded his inability to oblige the editor as he had no funds at his disposal for such a job. As the IDBI man rose from his chair to leave the office, the editor reminded him that in any case the IDBI officer would have to cough up the required amount.

Similarly, without caring to acquaint themselves with even bare facts and cross-check the information — provided gladly by most of local journalists — some of visiting newspersons contribute handsomely to the disinformation campaign on Kashmir. In one such case, Sukhmani

Singh wrote in the September 22, 1990 issue of *Saturday Times*, a supplement of *The Times of India* :

"The room where we meet 26-year-old Aasiya Andrabi, head of the largest women's militant organization in the Valley, Dukhtaran-i-Millat 'Daughters of the faith', (which is sympathetic to the Jamaat-e-Islami, a fundamentalist organisation) has no connections to luxury or aesthetics. Its mud splattered walls are adorned with stark Arabic and Urdu posters and pictures of the Prophet." Stars were favourable for her and the newspaper as such a glaring example of blasphemy went almost unnoticed; otherwise the entire country, particularly north India, would have been in flames. Such distortions and misreporting, often bordering on a sustained disinformation campaign, go on not only in the Indian media, but also in foreign newspapers and news agencies.

A double-column story in *The Hindu* under the headline 'Policeman shot in Kashmir' in its issue of April 18,1990 stated — "A policeman was reported to have been stoned to death, but official confirmation was awaited. There were clashes between demonstrators and the police in interior areas of Srinagar city. Police authorities said 14 Kashmir policemen were injured in stone-throwing". The story was filed by its stringer, who was also working for *The Statesman* and *AFP*. The story, creeded by *AFP*, was picked up by the Pak TV which in its evening news bulletin on April 17 highlighted the same without quoting the concerned foreign news agency. The State Information Department which preferred to ignore such glaring distortions or blatant lies, however, took up the issue with the concerned newsman and the agency. The agency expressed regrets and sent a TP message to its stringer at Jammu which stated, "We have withdrawn last night at 11 p.m. (On April 17) news item regarding demonstrations held in Srinagar as directed by you . . . (See the annexure 3 for the copy of the said TP message bearing the stamp of the Central Telegraph Office where the said message was received)

In a news report on April 19, 1990, *The Hindustan Times* stated: "The official spokesman vehemently denied the story in a Delhi newspaper, which was simultaneously released by AFP and was picked up by the Pakistan Television, that there were clashes between the security forces and demonstrators in Srinagar city during curfew relaxation period yesterday. He described the news item as a figment of imagination,

aimed to check the process of normalization in the Valley.

"He said that there was no incident like the stoning of a policeman to death by demonstrators in Srinagar yesterday. He claimed that AFP had later withdrawn the story and expressed regrets."

Earlier, AFP had created a fear psychosis at the time of the brutal assassination of Mir Mustafa — an Independent member of the J&K Assembly — by a terrorist group. The Pak TV in its evening news had highlighted its story that the 'freedom fighters' (terrorists) had prepared a list of about 150 persons, including some journalists, who would be accorded the fate similar to that of Mir Mustafa.

No wonder, in a dispatch from London, P. Sharma — Special Correspondent — stated in *The Hindustan Times* in its issue of February 15, 1990: " It is the familiar theme being orchestrated against India. The Kashmir mayhem has always been the pet subject to pillory India. Things were different when Islamic fundamentalists were trying to run the Valley, dictating their terms to the authorities, bombing newspaper offices, murdering political dissenters, intimidating ordinary men and women, some of the latter even being forced into purdah (veil). Here was quandary for the Western media people in Delhi; fundamentalists were not fighting for democracy or human rights as is the case in most areas of the world. They were, on the contrary, fighting for the abolition of democracy and human rights in favour of a medieval bigotry.

"*The Guardian* correspondent Derek Brown describes them as 'freedom fighters'. When terrorists are trained and armed across the frontiers in a repeat of the Islamabad's unsuccessful Operation Gibraltor, the damning evidence is either underplayed or simply dismissed.

"This is the abiding impression one gets on reading British newspaper dispatches from Delhi. Once more it is India that is in the dock over Kashmir. To begin with, the British correspondents were quite appreciative of how things had come to the present pass. For instance, Christopher Thomas of *The Times* described how Kashmir had been reduced to a Valley of Fear 'by a particularly hard-line fundamentalist group called Allah's Tigers. The new kind of Kashmir — one that is in the unfamiliar grip of Islamic fundamentalism, imposed ruthlessly by extremist organisations that now virtually control day-to-day life in the Valley. It said that everybody was scared, politicians to journalists.

"Emotive references to the massacres of Muslims were wholly unsubstantiated and based on hear-say. This is not to say that the police and Army action in Kashmir has been pleasant. No realist believes such action in any part of the world can be without its trauma. But the crucial point is the rule of law and democratic life were violated by force of arm by Kashmiri Islamic fundamentalists.

"However, the Guardian tried to controvert New Delhi's contention that anti-India Muslim malcontents in Kashmir were receiving Pakistani arms and training. The paper dished out: Some captured guns, allegedly made in Pakistan, and the odd appearance of the white and green flags in the riot-torn streets of Srinagar hardly amounts to proof.

"*The Guardian's* editorial later commented on the appointment of Jagmohan as the Governor of Jammu & Kashmir, 'This was an unfortunate choice: Jagmohan took tough anti-Muslim measures during his previous tenure as Governor from 1982-88'. The 'tough' measures were not mentioned."

The fact is that the first term of Jagmohan was from 1984 to 1989 and even his worst detractors acknowledged that he had won the hearts of the populace of the State, including Muslims. During his six months' stint as a Governor he had initiated a number of welfare measures.

In its issue of March 28,1990, *The Telegraph* (London) carried a double-column story *Army called out in Kashmir after riots over calf's head.* It was filed by Arun Joshi of the Associated Press(AP) in Jammu. The first para reads: "Hindus and Muslims fought each other with knives, iron rods and rocks in Kashmir yesterday, prompting the Indian Government to call out the Army and impose a curfew. At least three people were injured in the first clash between the two communities since Islamic separatist violence flared up two months ago in the region, police said." The 12-para story vaguely mentioned in the sixth para that the clashes took place in Jammu, the winter capital of Jammu & Kashmir. The last four para described the history of the secessionist movement in the State since 1948.

Such irresponsible and unsubstantiated news coverage by foreign news agencies led to some journalists in India conclude that terrorists were getting commands from Pakistan or the killings in terrorist-affected states of India were by remote control. O. N. Dhar wrote in an article in

the March 30, 1990 issue of *The Statesman*: "Authorities in Pakistan should have chosen to throw all caution to winds and announce through radio and TV that militants had demanded the release of 10 of their men in exchange for the release of Mir Mustafa although no such demand was at any stage made in Srinagar by Hizb-ul-Mujahideen which claimed responsibility for kidnapping the murdered Kashmiri leader. Mustafa was, in fact, executed in cold blood much before the expiry of the 36-hour time-limit set by Pak electronic media (attribution to AFP notwithstanding), most probably because Hizb-ul-Mujahideen operatives did not consider it safe enough to linger on with his forced detention.

" Even more significant than the broadcast of terms for Mir Mustafa's release by Pakistan media was the broadcast on Monday that 'an important politician' had been kidnapped by the 'mujahideen' in Kashmir in order to secure the release of their arrested comrades. The broadcast led to a flurry of activity in Srinagar's official circles in order to find out who the 'kidnapped politician' was. Though the announcement proved abortive, it has strengthened the assessment in Srinagar that the 'mujahideen' are now getting direct commands from Pakistan."

In an article in the April 14, 1990 issue of *The Tribune* from Chandigarh, Assistant Editor Swaraj Chauhan wrote: "It appears that the killers in Kashmir were waiting for a message from New York. It came in the form of a front page news item in *The Indian Express* quoting Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front chief Amanullah Khan declaring that the kidnapped persons had been killed.

"A few hours later the assassinations were carried out and the bodies of Mushir-ul-Haq, Vice-Chancellor of Kashmir University, Abdul Ghani, his private secretary and H. L. Khera, General Manager of the Hindustan Machines Tool Limited (HMT) were cynically left on the roadside by the killers in Srinagar in spite of heavy security."

In the light of all this, when a correspondent of AP, an international wire agency, presented a ball point pen to Governor Jagmohan in the first week of Feb.1990 during one of the latter's regular Press briefings at Raj Bhawan, Srinagar, the Governor retorted, " I hope it does not write the AP language".

A news report in the issue of March 19, 1990 of *The Nation* (Pakistan) carrying the byline of Ghulam Nabi Khayal — the Srinagar-based cor-

respondent of the newspaper — is a sample of notorious reporting from Srinagar. The report states :

"Srinagar — it looked like an invading Army shooting, looting and ransacking whatever came its way. All over, there were screams, lamentations and cries of grief. Children seemed a haunted lot and women showed sudden appearance of fright. Most of the young men had gone into hiding fearing persecution. The terrified faces and locked houses in two localities in Srinagar bore testimony to what could be called brutalities committed against civilian population by the security forces. This is what this correspondent witnessed while going round Old Chanapora and Lal Bazar in south and north of Srinagar city.

"In Old Chanapora, in south of the city, out of a total of 200 families about 150 have left their houses. 'They now live with relatives and in rented rooms elsewhere,' said Abdul Ahad, a lawyer and an eyewitness to the brutalities by the personnel of the Indian Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) on March 7. The CRPF came to the locality in search of freedom-fighters.

"Freedom-fighters not belonging to the locality made good their escape but the residents of Old Chanapora had to bear the brunt obviously for no fault of theirs. About 200 CRPF men entered into houses and started beating up men, women and even children. A middle-aged woman carrying her broken television set and a transistor said, 'This is what they did to us. My young daughter fearing molestation jumped out from the second story and broke her arms.' According to, Ghulam Nabi Dagga, a respectable man, three unmarried girls in the locality were raped by the security men. 'I can't give you their names because they are yet to be married. They have also left the area.' A young woman — Noora — said, 'They entered into house, beat up my husband mercilessly and tried to rape me.'

"A working woman said, 'Look, this is the real face of Indian democracy.' She said that some officers of the Kashmir Armed Police had come to the locality afterwards and offered some cash relief to the affected people. 'They looted our honour. Will they pay us for our honour?' A young man Manzoor Ahmad interrupted saying: ' We are not going to accept anything from these Indian dogs.' Outside on the main street, despite relaxation in curfew, hundreds of security men were

seen patrolling the locality with their automatic weapons and stenguns and other rifles brandishing in a way as if they were about to shoot. A medical shop — Haleem Medical Store — and the nearby mosque had also been ransacked.

"In Sadar Police Station, the concerned police officials confirmed that residents of Old Chanapora had filed first information report complaining of 'a CRPF raid on houses, molestation of women and looting.'

"The report also said that the CRPF men had attacked these houses under the command of a Sub-Inspector, Pillai, who also threatened to shoot another Sub-Inspector of the Kashmir Armed Police, when he tried to stop Pillai from this act. An officer of the Indian Border Security Force told this correspondent, 'it seems that even dacoits of Chambal Valley would not indulge in such inhuman acts.'

"On March 15, in north Srinagar yet another action took place. The area looked deserted after about 750 residents had already fled to safer places. It was the aftermath of a cross-firing between freedom-fighters and para-military forces.

"When CRPF men entered into the houses for purpose of arresting freedom-fighters 'they fired indiscrininately on people.' A young man, Ghulam Rasool, said that he was dragged out of his house and asked to stand up near a ditch in a lane, 'you tell us where other young men have gone or we will kill you.' The mosque in a locality had been ransacked extensively. Copy of the holy Quran was torn to pieces and scattered all over on the floor and outside. The loudspeakers, microphones and amplifiers were lying in the prayer-hall after having been damaged beyond repair.

"They entered into the mosque with the shoes and destroyed everything in this place of worship, said Mohammad Amin, a labourer. 'I have yet to see such brutality committed on innocent people'. He complained that Rs. 500 had also been taken by CRPF men from his pocket."

All this is being reported from Srinagar, where it is alleged that the Press has been gagged and censorship enforced. Paradoxically, all these allegations are being hurled by those Kashmiri local newsmen — working for Indian, Pakistani and foreign newspapers as well as international wire agencies — who are, unwillingly or willingly espousing the cause of separatists, secessionists and Islamic fundamentalists in the Valley.

They also get support from established commentators who have not visited the strife-torn Valley for years but are always eager to come forth with long articles on the subject.

Admitting that until he visited Srinagar a few days ago, he had no realisation of how perilously close we were to great complications in J&K, S. Sahay in his column 'A Close Look' in *The Tribune* (Chandigarh) wrote in its issue of February 20, 1990, "It was reported that the Border Security Force and the local armed police had clashed resulting in the death of a local policeman. The local policemen marched in procession in protest and they too raised slogans against India. The situation was defused by the administration by promising to hold an inquiry into the death of the policeman and consequently trying and punishing the guilty according to law. Rs. One lakh compensation to the relatives of the deceased was promised. When asked where the corpse was, senior local officials lamented that it was nearby ; however, when it came to handing over the cheque to the dead policeman's relatives, it was found that actually no policeman had died.

". . . Some people charged that the news coming out of Kashmir emanated from Jagmohan's imagination: concocted partly to justify severe treatment of the Press. My inquiries revealed that there was no reason to doubt Jagmohan's information. The havoc caused to the State by the incompetence of the Farooq Abdullah's Ministry is unbelievable. Terrorists, grandiosely called militants, had a free run of the State and, according to one official report, a number of officers even saluted them.

" . . . What has been role of the Press? One need not tar the whole of the Srinagar Press with the same brush but it needs to be noted that there are no less than 30 dailies and about 100 weeklies. Most of these dailies can claim no more than bare existence and their sole purpose is to wangle such Government advertisement as they can. Among the leading dailies are *Aftab, Srinagar Times, Al-safa, Wadi-ki-Awaz, Nawa-i-Subah, Quami Awaz* and *Hamdard*. The point to note is that while some of the papers are independent, some others bend to the will of terrorists under fear, while some advocate their cause.

"Srinagar papers did not function between January 20 and February 14 and only seven of them hit the stands on the last mentioned date. The reason for non-publication was the rigorous imposition of curfew be-

tween January 20 and 26. Curfew passes were valid only until 9.30 p.m.

"There is no doubt that the administration took vigorous steps to prevent any untoward happening on January 26. The Press suffered in consequence. No one, far less a journalist, would approve of restrictions, that too not legally announced, on the Press, but a journalist is also a citizen and he cannot altogether lose sight of the realities prevailing on the ground. The administration was dealing with an extraordinary situation involving nothing short of the physical integrity of the nation and if certain foreign journalists were asked to leave the State, it is, in this writer's view, understandable, especially when there is a tendency to exaggerate or even concoct news . . .

"As far as Indian journalists are concerned, some feel that one's nationalistic fervour should not colour one's professional outlook. Others (including this writer) feel that a journalist is a citizen too and he cannot act in a vacuum. As long as J&K is a declared and accepted part of India the national perspective cannot be overlooked. One must stand for the freedom of the Press and fight for it, but one cannot forget the fact that the freedom is not absolute. There has to be a harmonious balance between the freedom of the Press and the security of the State. Feigned measures by the State must be protested against and there must be insistence on free and fair coverage of news and expression of views but one must also take into account that this freedom is under attack not only by the Government but also by terrorists. While those believing in civil liberties can put pressure on the State to go easy, there is precious little that they can do when it comes to terrorists. The media is under ferocious attack. A TV director — Lassa Kaul, Director of Srinagar centre of Doordarshan — has been killed. A Resident Editor has been threatened. Part of the Srinagar Press lives in fear, part in sympathy with terrorists."

Sahay along with K. Narendra of the *Pratap* had gone to Srinagar in the first week of February 1990 to make an on-the-spot assessment on behalf of the Editors' Guild of India, an independent body. Somehow, three of the four 'outsider' journalists succeeded in meeting them (journalists not belonging to the State used to be dubbed by local journalists as outsiders and Viceroys. One was not at Srinagar at the time). They also submitted the following note to the visiting team. The note is the

portrayal of the nefarious media game in the Valley.

It said: "The competitive threatening and manipulations against the national media by the numerous subversive outfits (which are backed by some local journalists also) reached such an extent that a few days before the imposition of the Governor's rule, the *Kashmir Times* (Jammu) published a report, credited to a subversive outfit that 'some journalists are functioning as the agents of Delhi'. It warned them of dire consequences and forewarned that the name of those journalists would be published soon. Anyway, the measures, after the Governor's rule was imposed, could check the further drift.

"Some of local journalists had been quite irresponsible about the reporting of terrorism related news. Even the *Kashmir Times* — a Jammu-based English daily with a sizeable circulation in Srinagar city — had indulged in vilification campaigns against Saifulla Lone, an upright Station House Officer of Maisuma Police Station in downtown Srinagar and Neel Kanth Ganjoo, the judge who sentenced Maqbool Butt to death, till both of them were gunned down by suspected terrorists. The police officer was shot dead when he was coming out from a mosque after offering morning prayers.

"P. N. Bhatt, a prominent advocate and social worker of Anantnag used to write for various local and outside publications on issues related with Kashmir. A local journalist did a whisper campaign in Anantnag town that Bhatt was a RSS man and was writing for Hindu fundamentalist publications. Following such campaign, Bhatt was shot dead in broad daylight in Anantnag.

"The same *Kashmir Times* wrote in the lead news about kidnapping of the daughter of the Union Home Minister, 'an innocent Muslim girl was kidnapped by the so-called JKLF, a terrorist organisation in the name of Islam'. Since last week of January (1990), *Kashmir Times* has stopped publishing the reports of its Srinagar correspondent and photographs by its lensman, and instead has started using agency stories.

"Most of the local dailies and *Kashmir Times* from Jammu used to act willingly or unwillingly as the handouts of terrorists. They used to give ideas to terrorists by announcing new programmes of subversion (in the name of one or other outfit), indulge in exaggerated reporting about the anti-Indian protests, publish sensational photographs of anti-Indian ac-

tivities. Arranging bogus interview of underground leaders and supplying enacted photos to visiting Indian and foreign journalists was also a big money-spinning business for some local journalists.

"The latest development in the Valley and the acts of the authorities of the same newspapers prove that they were playing to an extreme end for petty political and personal interests. Most of the reports and photographs, they had published, appear to be fabricated, judging by the recent acts of their editors.

"The atmosphere of fear and threat, developing in Kashmir before the Governor's rule, could be gauged from the fact that some newspapers had started calling subversives as 'mujahideen', others as 'freedom-fighters'. The national dailies also shifted from the word 'terrorists' to 'militants' after the local Doordarshan and radio (where infiltration of terrorists is no less) started using the more respectable word.

"The Information Department of the State Government is in a mess. The flow of information has started pouring in only from January 28 this year (1990). It should be streamlined and overhauled to help newsmen in covering the State without any discrimination of any sort — State, case, creed, colour, region and religion.

"The editors of the national dailies and magazines can help in improving the things. They should discourage rat race among the national news agencies and correspondents, stationed here (Srinagar) in getting prominence even at the cost of sacred facts. some papers have part-time correspondents to cover this State. *The Hindu* and *The Statesman* are among such papers. The stringers should not be allowed to go berserk for the sake of more and more lineage. The editors should also discourage the planted stories about Kashmir from the centre of publications of the newspapers.

"*The Tribune* (Chandigarh) in an issue in the first week of February, 1990 had the Srinagar story as lead. The story was about the bomb blasts in Kashmir Valley on that day though none had been injured in these incidents. The story was datelined Srinagar, while the Srinagar correspondent has been allowed to operate from Jammu as 'his life was in danger'. In the same issue, the Punjab story of killing of seven bus passengers was elsewhere on page one and credited to the agencies.

"What to say, even the resident editor of a national daily did not

hesitate in acknowledging in one of the news reports that he was writing as a Kashmiri.

"Many visiting Indian journalists expect from Kashmir juicy, sensational and anti-Indian stories to happen for reporting and photography during their sojourn of two or three days. If nothing happens, many of them try to manufacture such stories and photographs with the help of local aides who wait in the wings for such opportunities.

"Regarding January 21 incidents, *The Sunday Observer* carried a report by a visiting correspondent in which it was stated 200 persons were killed on that day and machine-guns were reportedly used against civilians. The same correspondent, who also wrote another story about the curbs on the Press, too, should have listened to Pakistan Radio and watched Pak Television which have a big clandestine network in the Valley and are always in the forefront of the anti-Indian campaign. The Pakistan Radio had reported that so far 100 persons have been killed in Kashmir. But *The Sunday Observer* puts the figure of casualties at 200 and *The Sunday Mail* at 150. These are some instances of petty efforts of sensationalism and unhealthy competition among journalists.

"The news agencies also receive telephone calls from anonymous callers claiming to represent various terrorist outfits. They often threaten that if their version is not carried in the Press, the journalist would be in trouble.

"Though the State Governor started holding daily Press conferences at the Raj Bhawan after one week of assumption of the office for the second term, only correspondents of two national wire agencies and two or three national newspapers used to attend them. Local Kashmiri Pandit journalists had already shifted to Jammu, the winter capital of the State, and preferred to cover Srinagar from there and Kashmiri Muslim journalists representing a number of Indian newspapers published from centres other than Delhi as well as foreign wire agencies and newspapers did not attend the Governor's regular Press conferences."

A summary of codes, culled from media and journalistic organisations as reported in *In the Camera's eye: News Coverage of Terrorist Events*, edited by Yonah Alexander & Robert G. Picard, urges a journalist (1) Not to rely on terrorists or authorities as sole sources; (2) Balance the volume of news on the incident so that other news of the day will not be

crowded out; (3) Provide context,perspective,background,possible motivation of terrorists, and causes of the incident; (4) Not to use inflammatory catchwords or report rumours; (5) Report terrorist demands and deadlines but do not provide a platform for terrorists and (6) Not to participate in incidents or serve as a negotiator. But local journalists in Kashmir are doing just the reverse of such voluntary guidelines. Perhaps they are aware that terrorism would be impotent without publicity.

In an essay on *Terrorism and International Security* Lord Chalfont admits: "There is a tendency to search for some kind of bogus intellectual objectivity and to regard the terrorist on the one hand, and the police officer or soldier on the other, as two sides of a morally symmetrical confrontation. In publications of otherwise impeccable respectability, the phrase 'State Violence' is used to describe military or public action against violent subversives and terrorists. This language often results from the sheer incapacity to distinguish between an attack by a violent minority on the institutions of a democratic state and the right of that state to defend itself against such an attack.

"In dealing with terrorism, the question of media involvement has to come very high on the list. Almost all solutions ultimately depend on the way they are communicated to people throughout the world who rely upon the information system provided by the mass media. The corruption of language must be resisted. Freedom fighters don't murder innocent business men going about their lawful trade; murderers do that. Liberation movements don't set fire to farm-houses; terrorists do. Terrorists don't interrogate prisoners; they torture them. Terrorists don't execute informers; they murder their fellows."

However, most of Srinagar journalists continue to indulge in misreporting and intentional at that. Yusuf Jameel reported in *The Telegraph*(Calcutta) in its issue of January 23, 1990: "Conflicting reports are pouring in on the toll of the number of persons killed in the firing by the Army and para-military forces in various Srinagar areas yesterday(Jan.21). Unofficial sources said the toll was between 50 and 65. People claimed that security men threw many bodies in the Jhelum, after shooting protesters at nearby Gow Kadal and Basant Bagh localities." Nowhere in the 11-para story carried in three columns on page one was

any official source quoted. The story does not tell readers that in January the temperature at Srinagar is often below zero degree. There is hardly any movement in the Jhelum river. Moreover, on both the banks of the river, meandering through the city, boatmen live with their families. Any event of throwing a body in the river cannot go unnoticed.

After three days, in its issue of January 26, the same paper in a story filed by the same journalist mentions, at the fag end of the long story: " There was a public demonstration at Habba Kadal when a body was fished out of the Jhelum. However, officials said that the deceased was a Government employee who was missing since mid-December and that his death was not connected with the recent incidents".

Another interesting feature of reportage from Kashmir was the unhealthy competition between the two national wire agencies — UNI and PTI. In order to outwit the rival (as they call each other) they would not mind exaggerating the number of casualties and the persons injured in bomb blasts or exchanges of fire between terrorists and the security forces. In one such glaring instance, a PTI visiting special correspondent filed a story on the day after the release of Dr. Rubayya Sayeed — daughter of the then Union Home Minister — from the captivity of terrorists in exchange of the release of five hard-core terrorists. He overruled objections from his colleagues and fellow journalists and went ahead to file a story that the entire Kashmir Valley was put under curfew though only five towns in the Valley — namely Srinagar, Sopore, Baramulla, Anantnag and Sopian had been put under curfew. Next day the PTI story was published by almost all the newspapers as most of them did not even believe the version filed by their own correspondents. Even the Indian television — Doordarshan — and the All India Radio used the PTI story. Next day the official media used the contradiction but the damage had been done. The PTI correspondent neither had any regrets nor did he suffer any guilt feeling. (see Annexure 4 and 5)

The local Kashmiri (Pandits and Muslims alike) journalists had a sort of cartel in filing the stories. They used to capture the Central Telegraph Office at Srinagar and hijack the stories filed by other journalists. During the days of the captivity of Dr. Rubayya Sayeed, a local journalist who was working for a number of newspapers and international wire agencies, filed a story to one of the newspapers on telex from the Central

Telegraph Office. As soon as the story was cleared, came the prompt reply from the receiving end on the telex, 'Thank you Mr. — — for the story but we are not the newspaper to which you wanted to file the story.' The story had landed at the office of another newspaper but the journalist failed to take notice of this as, sometimes, he himself forgot the number of newspapers he worked for. The mutual arrangement between the members of this loose cartel, no wonder, often led to publication of similar stories in various newspapers.

The local Urdu language newspapers which played havoc even before the situation seemed to be beyond redemption in December 1989, continued in the nefarious game of misinformation. Some of them acted as the mouthpiece of secessionist outfits and lifted long interviews of terrorists leaders, published in foreign newspapers, particularly from Pakistan.

The exaggeration in respect of casualties was exposed in *The Indian Express* in a news item in its issue of March 31,1990. Under the heading 'How many died' the New Delhi datelined item ran: "How many persons have been killed during the last three months in Kashmir Valley? Professor Saifuddin Soz, a National Conference member of Parliament has alleged that 450 persons have been killed since the imposition of Governor's rule in the State on January 19 this year (1990).

"The figures given by him, authoritative sources say, are highly exaggerated. The State administration has asked him to indicate the names and addresses of all the 450 persons he claimed were killed.

"According to official figures,137 persons have been killed between January 19 and March 28. 43 of them were killed by militants. 61 persons were killed in defensive action by the police and paramilitary forces. 31 subversives or militants were killed by the Army guards when they attacked Army convoys or school buses carrying children of Army personnel and two persons were killed by the security forces protecting a United Nations official's jeep."

Similarly, on March 1, 1990 the Army opened fire on unruly mobs at two places. Zafar Meraj filed in his story for *The Independent*(Bombay): "21 people were killed and over 50 injured, six of them seriously when the security forces opened fire on a pro-independence procession near Zakoora village on the outskirts of Srinagar. Five persons were killed on

the spot, while 16 others succumbed to their injuries after admission to the Soura Medical Institute.

"Reports said the incident took place when a 5,000 strong cavalcade, shouting pro-independence slogans and waving flags of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) and other militant organisations, reached Zakoora from Nishat.

"An Army convoy that was passing by, was reportedly provoked by the anti-India slogans. Reports said some of the jawans jumped out of their vehicles and opened fire. Five persons died on the spot, while of the 30 others who were wounded and rushed to the Soura Medical Institute,16 succumbed to their injuries. The condition of six persons was reported to be critical." But the fact is that no casualty took place.

Yusuf Jameel filed in *The Telegraph*(Calcutta): " While a big procession was coming towards Srinagar city from the nearby villages, it was met by gun-wielding security men travelling in three lorries. Eyewitnesses said a police sub-inspector on duty at the Zakoora crossing tried to persuade the security men to keep their vehicles off the road till the procession passed. However, the security men refused and allegedly snatched the "Azad Kashmir" flag from an old man among the processionists. The crowds then started shouting slogans which perhaps provoked the security men who opened fire. At least 13 persons were killed and 15 wounded in the firing, doctors at Srinagar's Sher-i-Kashmir Institute of Medical Sciences said. Unofficial reports put the death toll at 18. No official explanation was given for the firing." Nowhere in these two dispatches it was mentioned that the Army fired at two places at Zakoora and Tengpora.

The Delhi papers and national wire agencies reported that the firing took place at Tengpora following an attack on the Army school bus by secessionists. The Committee for Initiative in Kashmir(CIK), a human rights organisation, alleged that the Army had fired on demonstrators who had been returning home in buses. It alleged that all the schools in the Valley were closed and, in any case, there was no school near the spot of the firing. Since the Army School, contrary to the CIK report, was open, the Press Council of India's Committee headed by B.G.Verghese, former Editor of *The Hindustan Times* and *The Indian Express*, dismissed the charges of alleged excesses.

In an attempt to assail the Verghese report, Rita Manchanda — a journalist — wrote a two-page long rejoinder in *The Economic & Political Weekly* : "Verghese did not think it necessary to call upon the CIK and ask it to present its evidence." Manchanda has, however, failed to take notice of a few letters in various Delhi newspapers by the parents of students of the Army School. They all stated that the Army School after winter vacations had been opened on February 26, enabling the students to appear in the examinations of all classes barring 10th and 12th for which the Central Board of Secondary Education(CBSE) was to conduct the examinations. But Manchanda went to add that "had Verghese done so (to call CIK for presenting its evidence),he might have found that the school had been opened in the morning to enable senior students to take their exams. According to the Army version, the two Army vehicles were carrying 37 children of Class I to X. The firing took place in the afternoon after 3 p.m., when the children would have all been back home. Also, people familiar with the topography of Srinagar argue that it is highly improbable that an Army School bus would be moving towards Tengpora on the national highway leading to Baramulla."

Manchanda perhaps is not aware, or does not want to know, that due to excessive cold in the Valley in the first week of March, the examinations were held from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. After taking the examinations the students were returning home. The bus was not bound for the Army School at Badami Bagh. In fact, it was on the way back from the Army School. A good number of Army personnel live near Bemina on the national highway leading to Baramulla on the outskirts of the city. In fact, Rita Manchanda was taken for a ride by her sources at Srinagar, including a disgruntled senior officer from the Indian Administrative Service. Manchanda, any way, is not alone in her repeated failure to sift grain from the chaff while covering Srinagar.

A majority of newsmen visiting Srinagar to cover incidents often have made the mistake of jumping to conclusions at the mere sight of green flags with crescent and star atop mosques, houses and shops. For them it is the Pakistani flag. Local guides (often newsmen) gladly consent to such conjectures. Similarly, Indian flags are available in plenty at Srinagar because burning of the Tricolour (Indian flag) makes a good copy. Three local lensmen offer such pictures at exorbitant rates. The

visiting newsmen return gladly with a good copy and good photographs. What is more, local lensmen would not allow photographers from other parts of the country (foreign ones are different) to shoot. In one such incident on the day (February 13) of the brutal assassination of Lassa Kaul — the Srinagar Doordarshan Kendra's Director — Sanjay Sharma, staff photographer of *The Hindustan Times* was prevented from taking the photograph of a demonstration of women under the aegis of the Dukhtaran-i-Millat, being held at the Pratap Park on Residency Road (Maulana Azad Road). Sharma was allowed to shoot the women's procession only at the intervention of a peon of PTI who was also there.

The CIK also jumped to another conclusion in its report that 'it should not surprise us that Kashmiris are ambivalent about Indian journalists and their commitment to give information without fear or favour which depicts the ground reality". The reason, given by the CIK was that "on top of this, the Governor has, in the name of safety, alleged to have transported some of local journalists from Srinagar including one who reportedly took all the furniture and fixtures which are the property of the J&K State". However, neither did the CIK name the journalist nor did it check with the Estate Department of the State or with the newsman it seemed to have in view for stealing the State's property. The moot question is: Is it fair on the part of the CIK to make such baseless allegation and jump to conclusion? Why did it not check the antecedents of newsmen who supplied such informations to it? It could not simply because at least one member of the said CIK had herself been a beneficiary of favours extended by Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah for making a documentary on Kashmir.

However, the purpose of such committee (CIK) and other human rights organisations was served as a number of observers and editors commented on the excesses made by the security forces and turned a blind eye to the activities of the terrorists. One human rights activist — Inder Mohan, who having a personal grudge against Jagmohan, went to the extent of alleging that five hardcore terrorists were exchanged for the safe release of Dr. Rubayya Sayeed, from the captivity of terrorists by Jagmohan. He preferred to forget that at that time (December 1989) Dr. Farooq Abdullah was the Chief Minister and Jagmohan took over as the Governor of the State for the second term on January 19,1990 — more

than a month after the release of Dr. Rubayya Sayeed and five hardcore terrorists.

In fact, the atmosphere was so vitiated that Arun Joshi, the then stringer for *The Times of India* and *AP*, besides holding the post of the Chief Reporter of *The Kashmir Times* at Jammu, mentioned in *The Times of India* in its issue of June 27,1990 under the heading MILITANTS' MOUTHPIECES: 'Writing pro-militant stories and blacking out facts has become a routine preoccupation with a section of journalists in Kashmir. There is no doubt that they are working against heavy odds but there have been very few occasions in the recent past when they have been able to give out an objective picture of the situation.

"Unfortunately, the administration too has not tried to dispel the impression which these journalists have tried to create that the security forces are the 'real culprits' for all the ills faced by the people in the Valley.

"Journalists, who have dared to report objectively or put things in the right perspective, have been hounded out of the Valley and forced to operate from the safe environs of Jammu. For example, the two news agencies, PTI and UNI, have part-time correspondents in Srinagar(in fact they are TP operators and are cousins) whose account of the situation is at variance with what their staff correspondents file from Jammu. If the Jammu-based newsmen grossly depend on official hand-outs, those reporting from Srinagar tend to send what militants would like them to. There is also a tendency among the latter to ignore the official version and give out the exaggerated claims of militants.

"Among the examples cited in this connection is the confusion among journalists about the identity of the assassins of Mirwaiz Maulvi Farooq.

"Prior to that, when the Jammu & Kashmir Students Liberation Front denied that it was responsible for the killing of Abdul Ghani, private secretary of Kashmir University's Vice-Chancellor, Professor Mushir-ul-Haq, who was also executed by terrorists, the Srinagar journalists simply lapped it up. And recently,when five masked terrorists killed three members of a family of a minority community (Kashmir Pandits), one of the militant groups, the Islamic Students League, said that no militant group was involved in it. Instead, it blamed some Government agencies for the incident.

"This too was unquestioningly put out by the journalists, even though they know that militant groups in the Valley are operating at cross purposes. There have been occasions when the responsibility for attacks on the security forces has been claimed by more than one group."

Rita Manchanda in *The Sunday Observer* in July 1990 admitted: "Today, in the Valley, it is journalists — foreign or Indian — who have per force become one of the few remaining channels of communication between militants and the administration . . . Restricting further avenues of dialogue was the arrest of mainstream politicians like Abdul Ghani Lone of the People's Conference, Shia leader Maulvi Abbas Ansari and the People's League activist Shabir Shah. In effect, this has meant the removal of the moderate politicians who might have once served as a bridge." Manchanda perhaps did not read the political situation correctly as all the politicians mentioned, including pro-secessionist Lone and Maulvi Ansari, had been rendered irrelevant and sidelined under the present circumstances. Moreover, Shabir Shah had been arrested in the last week of September 1989, much before the grand and grave collapse of the Kashmir Administration as well as of the law and order machinery.

Manchanda added in her dispatch: "In this vacuum, it is journalists who have emerged as 'neutral' intermediaries in an ongoing civil war. A fact, which was highlighted during the drama over the release of the Israeli tourist Yari Izhakki. Indeed, it was three journalists who worked out with the JKLF acting chief Javed Mir Nalqa, the conditions under which the United Nations Military Observer's office in Srinagar would take the eventual custody of the Israeli as demanded by militants.

"The actual release was the stuff racy thrillers are made of. The journalists were directed to a 'safe' house in downtown Srinagar, where the Israeli was hidden. Bundled into their blue Ambassador (car), the Israeli, masquerading as a French journalist, was taken past scores of the security pickets and handed over to Major Pekia Hannukkai,the UN representative. Meanwhile, at least 15 journalists in a conspicuous cavalcade of three cars were taken through a dirt trail to a houseboat hide-out on Nagin Lake. Here, Nalqa awaited, eventually addressing a Press conference which announced the release. Attired in a khaki shirt and trousers, complete with a cowboy hat and an ornamental pair of white-rimmed sun glasses, Nalqa outlined details of the release to a

'chosen' few.

"However,being associated with militants has its own pitfalls. In the Valley being 'neutral' for Srinagar-based journalists often means reflecting only the version of militants, as was evident in the reportage of the Swedish affair. Echoing the spokesman of the Muslim Janbaz Force (a terrorist outfit) most local journalists insisted that the two Swedes had been 'released'. Even at the Press conference addressed by Jan Ole Loman and Johan Janson, the Press corps was positively hostile when the Swedes gave details of their escape. Ironically, journalists present could offer no explanation as to why the Swedes should have lied about their escape."

In fact, some Kashmiri Muslim journalists were already engaged in providing megaphones to terrorists and their claims, sometimes tall ones. In her book *Kashmir: Behind the White Curtain*, Khem Lata Wakhlu recollects the role played by Zafar Meraj: "Zafar Meraj, Bureau chief of *The Kashmir Times* in Srinagar was the main person through whom some contact had been established with militants . . . Zafar Meraj was doing everything he could, meeting militants, coming to Mufti's home, meeting the Press. It appeared that he had a major role to play in seeking the release of Dr. Rubayya Sayeed and deciding her fate.

"At long last the day of Rubayya's release approached. On 13th December the city was tense. We waited anxiously for Rubayya at her home. In the meantime, Zafar arrived. 'She will be here soon.' Zafar was the focus of everyone's attention. It was obvious he had achieved a great miracle."

Khushwant Singh in his weekly column in *The Hindustan Times* in its issue of February 17, 1990 (Saturday) commented :" We are not being told the truth about what is happening in the Valley of the Jhelum. I have come to that sorry conclusion after comparing what has been reported in our papers and by our radio with reports published in British papers and broadcast over the BBC. My complaint is not so much against the Government which understandably would like to play down the agitation but against our media men who have proved untrue to their salt by simply putting out hand-outs given to them by the Governor's P.R.O.

"The grossest violation of the ethical code was committed by the correspondent of the English language daily with the largest circulation

in the country. He was in Jammu on the fateful Sunday when the CRPF opened fire on a procession of unarmed protesters, which included Hindus and Sikhs, defying the curfew in Srinagar. His dateline claimed he was in Srinagar. The same applies to correspondents of our two major wire services, PTI and UNI. They toed the Government line instead of making investigations on their own. They should realise that by holding back or distorting the truth, they destroy the confidence the common man reposes in them".

Khushwant Singh, who claims to play the role of a conscience-keeper, did not name the journalist who violated the journalistic ethics. Perhaps he himself did not follow the ethics which he espoused. S. S. Banyal, Special Correspondent of *The Hindustan Times*, who had been posted at Srinagar to cover the State in the past, was there on a special assignment and covered the events on that fateful day (January 21). Jagmohan had taken over as the Governor of the State the same day and was at Jammu where he was sworn in. *The Indian Express* correspondent, George Joseph, was very much there. Khushwant Singh did not bother to counter-check the facts with any correspondent or their organisations before jumping to the 'sorry' conclusion and damning the correspondents of the Press in Delhi. However, his comment perhaps gave enough hints to terrorists and secessionists to hound out the 'hostile' journalists from Srinagar and a fear psychosis was created by a majority of local Muslim journalists, in league with secessionists.

The atmosphere had been so vitiated that few months later in May Saeed Naqvi reported in *The Sunday Observer*: "I did not expect the people to be so angry. Otherwise like most sensible reporters of major national dailies, I too, would have refrained from visiting the Idgah to attend the funeral of Mirwaiz Maulvi Farooq . . .

"Soon I was surrounded by a mob of 100 or 200. I cannot say with certainty. They spoke in and out of turn, each being the other's proxy. I could not understand all that they said. But they were bitter, angry and in great pain.

"A young man pulled at my collar from behind. 'Indian dog go home,' he shouted. This chorus was soon picked up . . . 'I heard you on BBC,' said a young man, lunging towards me viciously, his fist probing for my chin above the heads of others encircling me. 'You said any one of the

feuding groups could have killed Maulvi Farooq.' (He was referring to a BBC Urdu service programme I had participated in.) He pulled my collar! Again that chant, Indian dogs go home."

In a dispatch for *The Telegraph* (Calcutta) Yusuf Jameel in its issue of May 22, 1990 writing on the assassination of Mirwaiz Farooq stated: "'All the Kashmiri organisations struggling for independence must unite and fight till the last man,' the Mirwaiz is claimed to have said before he breathed his last. The Maulvi is believed to have got his statement, on who killed him and how, recorded before he died." Perhaps it was the wishful thinking of Jameel as a free English translation of the statement of Ghulam Qadir Sofi, the watchman, employed at the house of Maulvi Farooq, reads: "I was watering the roses with a pipe in the house since the gardener had not come. While Mohammad Maqbool was going out, three persons opened the gate. Mohammad Maqbool enquired from them their names, purpose of visit. In reply, they stated that they had come the day before and Maulvi Sahib had given an appointment for the said date; they wanted to meet him. With this motive they entered. Maqbool asked me to accompany them but I stated that since I was busy he himself should accompany them. Nevertheless, I went in. They were disclosing their identities to the Secretary after which the Secretary gave me a slip which I took inside. I was asked to wait. After 5 to 10 minutes, I went outside. As I came out I heard a 'bang' sound which was followed by repeated shots. I caught hold of the person having the revolver, which was of black colour. He tried to fire at me but I swayed towards my right side. Two persons following him pushed me on one side and ran away. I chased them up to the university gate where I fell down because of giddiness. I was shouting, 'Oh God, Maulvi Sahib is dead.' "

The victim had fallen unconscious and was rushed in a critical condition to the Sher-i-Kashmir Institute of Medical Sciences at Sora. The Maulvi who had sustained bullet injuries in the head, shoulders and the abdomen was operated upon but succumbed to the injuries between 12.20-12.25 p.m.

Later, arrest of the assassins of the Maulvi proved that Saeed Naqvi was correct in assessing that one of the feuding militant groups may be behind the gruesome murder of the Maulvi.

Commenting on such a state of affairs of the Press in the Valley

Jagmohan in his book, *My Frozen turbulence in Kashmir* commented: "An unfortunate tendency has also developed amongst some of the correspondents to rely upon hear-say or interested interviews even in respect of cases where documents and written records to prove the contrary exist. Journalism is supposed to be a 'first draft of history'. With the type of reporting that is taking place in a section of our Press, I do not know whether it should be called instead the first attempt to waylay the infant child of history ! Most of the commentaries written by political analysts were based upon incorrect facts, careless reporting, interviews of interested parties, and even totally concocted stories."

Another bane of reportage in Kashmir is that most of local journalists, Srinagar-based newsmen and visiting ones seldom move out of Srinagar to visit a spot to get first hand information before filing their stories. Their stories are often based on what is fed to them by the State Government or what their sources (local journalists) readily offer them on a platter. Even in October 1989, when the entire family of a police officer was gunned down at his native village by terrorists following his apprehending a notorious terrorist at Kupwara a few days ago, no journalist ventured out of Srinagar though the spot was barely 25 Km away from Srinagar. The request of a few journalists from Delhi papers to accompany them was spurned by their local colleagues.

Similarly, barring a correspondent of one Delhi newspaper, none went to the two constituencies for pre-poll coverage in the 1989 Lok Sabha elections. (The National Conference candidate had already been elected unanimously from the Srinagar constituency). On the polling day when a team of three newsmen — two from Delhi papers and Mukhtar Ahmed of *Daily Excelsior* — visited some polling stations and reported that at some places votes were cast and the polling staff had turned up at each and every polling station, they were mocked at by the local journalists and even their visit was questioned. Nowhere, the visiting team saw that television sets were kept at the polling stations to be offered to voters who would venture to cast their votes in defiance of the directive of terrorists to boycott the elections. But, next day, almost every newspaper in the country carried a picture of a TV set outside a polling booth. The picture was, needless to say, stage-managed.

A lot of noise was made in the national and international Press in

March, April and May 1991 over the alleged mass rape of women at Kunan Poshpora in Kupwara district of the Valley. The incident reportedly took place in the night of February 23. The Press Council of India, an autonomous body, sent a team to investigate some cases of excesses by the Army and other brutalities. It was headed by B.G. Verghese. The committee mentioned its findings in a lengthy report: " The Kunan rape story on close examination turns out to be a massive hoax orchestrated by militant groups and their sympathisers and mentors in Kashmir and abroad as part of a sustained and cleverly contrived strategy of psychological warfare and as an entry point for reinscribing Kashmir on the international agenda as a human rights issue. The loose ends and contradictions in the story exposes a tissue of lies by many persons and at many levels.

"The women of Kunan Poshpora have been tutored or coerced into making statements derogating their own honour and dignity. This cruel exploitation of simple women through demeaning self-abuse is itself a deplorable human rights violation."

Taking up cudgels on behalf of human rights groups, Rita Manchanda accused the Verghese Committee of an overt bias towards the Army version. She wrote in *The Economic & Political Weekly* in its issue of August 17, 1991, "The Army has effected a virtual coup in the latest Press Council report 'Crisis and Credibility' on Kashmir. They have got the country's ace liberal — B.G. Verghese — to give a clean chit to the Army and, in passing, to the para-military forces in the Valley. Editorials have hailed it for exposing as a 'massive hoax' reports of Army excesses and atrocities in the Valley . . .

"Human rights groups are supposedly in the dock. And the adjudicator in this curious trial of human rights groups vs the Army is B.G. Verghese. On the invitation (request) of the Army, a three-member committee was appointed by the Press Council to look into reports of Army excesses. One member, the elderly journalist, Jamna Das Akhtar, was unable to travel to the Valley and is not a signatory to the report. K. Vikram Rao is cited as co-author of the report but he is better known for his trade union proclivities rather than his journalistic activities. It is evident that the report rests on the credentials of Verghese.

"Most human rights groups would have described him as a sym-

pathiser if not an activist. And Verghese now admonishes these groups for being duped by 'the say-so of alleged victims and propagandists" masterminded by Pakistan. But as a far from demoralised V. M. Tarkunde retorted, "Is the report not also based on the say-so of the Army? Is it not equally one sided." Does this mean that the doyen of the professional human rights activists, Tarkunde admitted that he was also one sided while investigating the alleged excesses of the security forces?

Even before the Verghese panel submitted its report, O. N. Dhar wrote in a lengthy article in the October 13, 1990 issue of *The Hindu*:

"Indian and foreign mediamen from far and near have paid several visits to the strife-torn Valley to get the 'inside dope' on the 'guerrilla war' and use the Srinagar dateline. No aspect of the fierce campaign against India escapes their prying eyes, with the more resourceful ones among the foreign journalists even having managed to disappear from views for days together, duping local authorities, so as to be with militant contactmen to meet 'guerrilla commanders' and get their views and arrange photo and film coverage.

"Not to be left behind, quite a few Indian mediamen have shown a remarkable zest to match such enterprise, vying with one another to tap all possible contacts to get close to the leading operators of the mayhem. The results have been fairly rewarding for them with a host of stories, interviews, magazine articles and pictorial features appearing in several leading newspapers and periodicals focusing on the 'liberationists' and their version of the struggle.

"Perceptive Kashmir watchers have been struck by the almost identical vein of thought running all through these writings and pictorial presentations: atrocities and excesses of the security forces leading to the alienation of a hapless population caught between the fear of militants and the hatred for the 'occupation forces'. Harrowing tales of woe related by 'innocent' victims of the cross-fire have dominated most accounts with several 'humanist' and civil rights outfits complementing the narrations with their 'own findings'. If one were to go by these 'first-hand accounts' of our intrepid mediapersons and the 'findings' of the omniscient civil rights enthusiasts the only problem this nation is up against in Kashmir is that of excessive force being used by the security personnel against an innocent peace-loving people!

"Not a single media account or pictorial display, however, has shed light on how these 'tell-tale' features, which have marked several presentations on Kashmir, came to be produced. Nor has there been a word about the thoroughly efficient organisational network which takes charge of visiting writers, self-appointed investigators and photographers once they are cleared by contactmen.

"A delegation of Kashmiri migrants in Delhi protested to a well -known jurist — the leading light of a civil rights outfit. The members were astonished when the distinguished gentleman whose name had appeared prominently in the list of signatories to a statement issued by his outfit against 'police and security forces barbarities in Kashmir' told them that whatever 'facts' were related in the statement 'had been made available' to his team by leading members of the Kashmir Bar Association. When he was told that most of these 'facts' were either wrong or highly coloured and that a leading figure of this Association was also the Chairman of the Coordination Committee of various militant outfits called the 'Tehrik Hurriat Mutahida Mahaz' (United Front of the Militant Movement), the civil rights leader showed surprise and explained that they had no means of, and time, to check on the 'facts'.

"Angry groups of Kashmiri readers once confronted the highbrow editorial operators of a leading national daily that specialised in highlighting the 'plight' of the Valley's 'innocent'. The readers wanted to know why in the newspaper's high blown report there was no word about the brutal and systematic killing of Kashmiri Hindu men, women and children, their forced migration or about the mysterious fires which engulfed a number of Hindu mohallas in Srinagar in May, June and August (1990). There was no answer.

"These hapless thousands, it would seem, are not at all Kashmiris in the eyes of Sukhmani Singhs, Harjinder Singh Bawejas or Qurrat-ul-ain Haiders! A house-boatman's tale of woe of 'We can't eat houseboats' makes a good full page story but Mrs. Chuni Raina's harrowing account of what she faced, while looking for her murdered husband does not deserve even a passing reference. The forced migration of as many as 28,000 Hindu families, born and brought up in the soil of their ancestors who gave it their very best in all fields of life, is not worth even a paragraph of their tear-filled, sympathy-evoking prose or photographs

but the tale of ' Rs. 3,000 worth of fur jackets having been eaten by rats' as told by a dealer is fit enough to deserve box display!

". . . When Indian media representatives descended on Srinagar last year (1989) to cover the militant mayhem they found themselves ostracised, while their comrades of the foreign Press had the field set for 'inside' coverage. Accredited national mediamen were taught their first lesson and as their follow-up visits came they had learnt the lesson of making sure of proper contacts. Handpicked public relations managers of militant outfits (masquerading on the scene as local journalists) took notice of them by and by. Select correspondents and Press photographers were conducted to pre-arranged militant 'parades' on the Pakistan's Independence Day last year (1989) in Srinagar and 'live interviews' with masked gun-toting 'revolutionaries' were arranged.

"Exclusive film and photo features on the 'Kashmir revolution' thus became available aplenty to a hungry media. An eagerly waiting nation was given a new approach; those so-called terrorists were no terrorists but the angry victims of an era of corruption, of suppression of democratic rights, of electoral riggings and of unemployment and economic deprivation.

"To understand and present the problem in its various complexions and in all its complexities instant formulations can prove dangerous. Nor will a presentation of the problem in its current manifestation on the basis of slanted versions and through stage-managed photo and film coverage and dramatic interviews with 'guerrilla' commanders and their outfits ever be authentic. To understand and present the truth — the whole truth — the media would have to probe deep and hard, eschewing a growing tendency to re-write the history of the bleeding vale in a hurry".

Unfortunately, most of the journalists, commentators as well as human rights activists have developed stubborn attitudes refusing to correct themselves. There are only a handful of instances when newsmen have corrected themselves in print. In a rare example, *The Hindustan Times* carried a report in the last week of September 1989 at the time of the arrest of Shabir Shah — leader of the People's League — that Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, had had a meeting with the arrested militant. Next day, the newspaper without waiting for the official contradiction corrected its mistake.

The irresponsible reports were not restricted to local newspapers alone. The local correspondent of *The Times of India* filed a report which appeared in the October 2, 1990 issue of the paper: "A BSF jawan allegedly killed a large number of people and set fire to the main market in Handwara town, about 65 km from here (Srinagar) today.

"Though the exact number of people killed could not be ascertained, official sources said the sub-divisional police officer had asked the district police lines at Kupwara to send all vehicles at its disposal to Handwara to remove the bodies.

"According to the report, the BSF jawan went berserk after an encounter with militants. When the encounter took place, most of the people are feared to have been burnt to death after the market was set on fire.

"Sources said that the BSF jawan fired at the local police station. A head constable, Ali Mohammad, was killed on the spot while another policeman was critically injured. The exact number of shops and houses gutted could not be ascertained. According to the sources, the security forces allegedly stopped a fire tender from operating in the area for quite a long time."

However, the national wire agencies reporting the incident stated, "Militants fired on the security forces in the town and intermittently at the main market there. As a result of this firing, the head constable — Ali Mohammad — of the local police, died on the spot and one security personnel was also killed. Two militants were also killed."

The local newspapers besides encouraging terrorists also donned the role of a preacher. In its issue of June 11, 1992 the *Srinagar Times* carried a statement purported to be issued by the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen: "Though there is nothing wrong in making sincere political and diplomatic efforts to solve Kashmir problem, but it is unfortunate that a few militant and political personalities have started giving preference to politics over 'Jehad'. It is the result of such behind-the-scene efforts that a lull has descended on militant activities. Can a Muslim abandon 'Jehad' once having joined it? Leaving the weapons, having once taken, reduces a Muslim to the status of apostate."

However, some saner elements write with responsibility. In an editorial, the *Al Safa*, another Urdu newspaper from Srinagar in its issue

of June 9, 1992 commented: "Recently, in a remote area of Baramulla district, a heart-rending incident, which was first of its kind, took place. A person hurled a grenade on a crowd of people, ending three lives and leaving life-long scars on the bodies of 30 innocent lives. Although the incident does not have much importance because deaths and disablements of people have become a routine (in Kashmir). But, so far, the nature of such incidents used to be quite different. As a sequel to indiscriminate firing of the security forces, torture in the torture cells and attacks, such incident (of deaths) would be the result of the retaliatory actions (on the part of the militants).

"Sometimes people would be injured or die when bombs were hurled in crowded bazars, and sometimes people would die on the charge of being informers. But all this was tolerated as a part of the situation (in Kashmir), which has been going on for the last three years. However, the incident of Kachchu Muqam (in which one militant group attacked another killing one prominent militant) is an entirely different incident, which has put a note of interrogation before the militant movement.

"In every society there are good as well as bad people. There are bad elements too, and virus of sin as well. But everybody does not have the capability to decide what is right and what is wrong. Similarly, everybody does not have the right to declare other person a sinner and award punishment to him. Every type of wrong and sin entails punishment according to the regulations of every religion and every country.

"The very first defect of the militant movement (in Kashmir) has been that everybody arrogated unto himself the right to declare what is right and what is wrong, and award the punishment accordingly. Thus, an illiterate person who does not have the vision of greatness of life, does not have the historical sense and is not aware of the basic message of religion, issues statements like a Mufti Azam or a judge. Thus, this position creates a notion in him that he is a Messiah or a Prophet of his times. Whatever he says is the truth, and whatever he does is the right thing. This illusion about one's ownself will be highly dangerous for that society where such a person lives. More so, when he has destructive material in his hands. In the (Kashmir) Valley, there are more than 150 chief commanders, deputy chief commanders, military advisors, chief of the intelligence units, district commanders and section commanders

belonging to different militant organizations wielding power and clout.

"They can do whatever they want. There are only a few amongst them who have the sense to observe bounds, and who are aware of their objectives. Rest of them have indeed the enthusiasm, but they do not know what are the limitations of their power. They consider themselves authorities on religion, morality, politics rather on anything under the sun. Thus, they poke their nose in everything and anything and consider it as their birthright . . .

"There has been an increase in the incidents which have resulted in the killings of common men. This year,the apprehensions and misunderstanding about the militant movement have increased. The disenchantment of the people has increased . . . Basically, the urgent need of the hour is to define the role of the gun and discuss the limits of its use. There should be an open-hearted discussion on this subject. The question raised by the Kachchu Muqam needs to be resolved immediately, otherwise the situation has reached a sorry pass." (Translated from Urdu by *The Kashmir Opinion*)

Even as early as May 3, 1990, Askari H. Zaidi, the then correspondent of *The Times of India* at Srinagar, in a dispatch had stated: "While it is generally accepted that a section of the local Press had become the mouthpiece of militants, either under threat or otherwise, and was fanning secessionism, the administration's indiscriminate onslaught on the local Press might prove counter-productive in the long term".

The situation has been objectively summed up by Modhumita Majumdar in an article in *The Pioneer* in October 1992. She says, "What is reprehensible is the attempt to pass off a one-sided picture as truth and the whole truth. This, certainly, is not investigative journalism." A laudable effort was made by the Press Council of India — an autonomous body — to constitute a committee to investigate into some of the alleged instances of atrocities by the Army while curbing terrorists.

VIII

Seige by Scandal

In an orchestrated manner, terrorists, their sympathisers in Press — particularly the foreign media, and, of course, various human rights groups have unleashed a disinformation campaign regarding the Kashmir's violence. As the Army, since 1990, was increasingly called out in aid of civil administration, there began to appear frequent reports of excesses and atrocities such as indiscriminate or extra judicial killings, torture, arson, rape and loot.

In a rare gesture, the perturbed Army authorities approached the Press Council of India, with a request to investigate the allegations made in the print media and by the human rights groups. The Press Council agreed to that and appointed a three-member committee, headed by B. G.Verghese, former editor of *The Hindustan Times* and the *Indian Express*, Jamna Das Akhtar, a veteran journalist and K.Vikram Rao, special correspondent of *The Times of India*. However, Akhtar, on account of old age, could not accompany the other two members of the committee, who visited the affected areas in the Valley. The report — generally known as the Verghese Committee Report — stated in its findings that reports of human rights excesses against the Indian Army in Kashmir have been either grossly exaggerated or invented. It added that some excesses did occur, but these have been inquired into and action taken against those found guilty.

The report said: "The two most serious allegations against the Army, namely, the so-called Dudhi killings and the mass rape of women at Kunan Poshpora, are without foundation. The Kunan rape story, on close examination, turns out to be a massive hoax orchestrated by militant groups and their sympathisers and mentors in Kashmir and abroad as part of a sustained and cleverly-contrived strategy of pathological warfare and as an entry point for reinscribing Kashmir on the international agenda as a human rights issue. The loose ends and contradictions in the story exposes a tissue of lies by many persons and at many levels.

"The women of Kunan Poshpora have been tutored or coerced into making statements derogating their honour and dignity. The cruel exploitation of simple women through demeaning self-abuse is itself a deplorable human rights violation."

The committee noted, "Most of the charges levelled against the Army are anecdotal and have not been properly investigated. Human rights organisations and the media play a valuable watchdog role but have an obligation to be far more rigorous in piecing together information and publishing what might pass for hard findings. The mere say-so of alleged victims and propagandists can only be treated as such and suggest a cause for inquiry, no more."

It added, "The Indian Army has broken new ground in taking the bold decision to throw open its human rights record to public scrutiny through the Press Council of India. Few armies in the world would invite such an inquiry. The Indian Army has cooperated in this task. And it has, all things considered, emerged with honour."

The committee investigated at least five incidents in which the Army was accused of excesses and rape. They were (1) Killing of 73 militants at Dudhi on the Line of Control on May 5, 1991 (2) Mass rape by the Army jawans at Kunan Poshpora on Feb. 23-24, 1991 (3) Army firing at Zakoora on March 1, 1990, (4) Army firing at Tengpora on March 1, 1990, (5) Mass rape by Army jawans at Pazipora on August 10, 1990. The report is being reproduced in detail :

The Dudhi 'Killing'

Several thousand youth over the past few years have been inveigled, coerced or ideologically motivated to cross over from Jammu & Kashmir

to Pak-occupied Kashmir (PoK) for armed training under the aegis of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). Thereafter they have been infiltrated back across the Line of Control with sophisticated weapons and equipment to wage war against the Indian state, conduct acts of sabotage and terror, and 'liberate' Kashmir. This process is fully documented and established in India and abroad. It is freely admitted by militant groups and their sympathisers in Kashmir, and has been abundantly detailed in confessions by those who have been apprehended or have surrendered to the Indian security forces.

In the early hours of May 5, 1991, a group of about 130 infiltrators penetrated the Line of Control in an attempted crossing of the Shamsabari range in the Dudhi/Tangdhar sector of Kupwara district. The elevation here varies from 10,000 to 14,000 feet. The movement was detected by Army pickets who challenged the intruders and called upon them to surrender. The infiltrators, however, decided to give battle. The exchange of fire lasted almost 96 hours. Two Army jawans were killed and the militants lost 73 men. Fifteen militants were apprehended with a large quantity of arms and ammunition. During the action, the Pakistani forces provided covering or diversionary fire.

The charges that these youngmen were massacred when they could have been arrested or were prepared to surrender are unfounded. The Dudhi incident was such a blow to militants that they gave a call for a 60-hour hartal in the Valley.

Seventy-three Dudhi militants were killed in a remote, desolate and snowbound mountain area and it would have taken a very considerable effort to bring the bodies to Srinagar. They were accordingly buried at the spot. In view of the kind of propagandist advantage taken by militants on such occasions to glorify 'martyrs' and whip up passions, the next suggestion made was that the photographs and names of the dead men be published in batches in the Srinagar Press. This was opposed by the Administration in the High Court. The matter was taken to the Supreme Court which ordered that photographs of the slain men be instead displayed at offices of Deputy Commissioners and at police stations for inspection by relatives and friends, but that no cameras be allowed.

The further argument that those exfiltrating and infiltrating across the Line of Control are not terrorists but innocent civilians is patently absurd.

The higher mountain slopes near the Line of Control are virtually unpopulated and are at best the haunt of Gujjars and Bakarwals. In no way could so many youth be gathered there in highly inclement weather for an innocent jaunt. In fact, the authorities believe that the grim determination with which this particular group of infiltrators fought suggests that they comprised a particularly hardened, motivated and trained lot of militants who were conceivably being infiltrated back to undertake special assignments. Hence the sustained covering artillery and mortar fire by Pakistan, which was also anxious to identify those killed so as to assess its losses. Hence, the pursuit of photographs and particulars of the dead men was undertaken through what might seem normal legal procedures. The theory is entirely plausible in the light of the desperate measures adopted by the ISI. Indeed, Pakistan put out a story that 90 Indian jawans had been killed in the Keran sector. This is untrue and was promptly denied.

Further evidence in support of the official Indian version was provided to the committee by those who surrendered in the Dudhi encounter. These youths told us (the committee members) why and how they had gone to PoK and Pakistan. They had received some initial training and thereafter undergone battle inoculation with the Mujahideen in the no-man's-land along the Afghan border. These men had been told that if they fell into the hands of the Indian Army they would be tortured, their nails pulled out and worse. On the contrary, having surrendered with their arms they found themselves well-treated. They were a chastened lot and felt they had been deceived by their mentors. All they now wanted was to return home, look after their families and lead normal lives.

Anyone trying to cross the Line of Control or moving about the border belt in suspicious circumstances is not automatically gunned down but is challenged. Infiltrators who surrender or are captured are humanely treated. In November and December 1990 there were occasions when frost-bitten, injured and starving infiltrators who were deserted by their guides on inhospitable and densely-forested mountain slopes were air-dropped food and medical supplies and then rescued and evacuated for medical treatment.

Mass Rape Alleged At Kunan Poshpora

Few incidents have aroused as much controversy, indignation, and publicity both within Kashmir and globally as the alleged mass rape of women in a cordon-and-search operation by men of the 4th Rajputana Rifles (Raj Rif) of the 68 Mountain Brigade in the village of Kunan Poshpora, a modest-sized twin-hamlet settlement in Kupwara district at the very edge of Kashmir Valley.

The allegation is that not less than 23 but possibly up to 100 women of all ages and conditions, pregnant, deaf-mute and elderly (up to 70 years), were raped by one to seven men at a time in an orgy of sexual violence from 11 p.m. to 4 a.m. on the night of February 23 and 24, 1991 — often in the presence of their children and families. The younger men were herded out. The electricity was cut off. The soldiers were swilling liquor. The commanding officer — a Colonel — and eight other commissioned officers were for most of the time at a couple of interrogation centres. The women were discovered cowering, bleeding and unconscious by their men only in the late morning when they were allowed to return to their homes. The Army column moved off about 9 a.m. after having procured by threat of force a no-objection certificate (NOC) signed by three village notables and two J&K police constables who had accompanied the troops as required. Graphic first-person details were published and widely distributed throughout the world.

The official version is quite different and a prompt denial was issued from Delhi. The substance of this is that a totally fabricated account of a normal cordon and search operation was put out 10 days after the event as part of a motivated propaganda campaign by militants and their mentors to discredit the armed forces. The officers of the Raj Rif including the commanding officer received no complaint and the no-objection certificate was readily given by the villagers. Even before the troops left the village some women and children received medical attention from the Army doctor who was present, indicating full confidence in the unit and no sense of fear or revulsion regarding the manner in which the search had been conducted overnight.

The sequence of events is as follows. The 4th Raj Rif conducted a cordon and search operation on the night of February 23 and 24. The Brigadier commanding 68 Mountain Brigade himself visited the village,

about five km from his headquarters at Trehgam, on the 24th morning before the operation concluded. No complaint was made. However, on February 27, some villagers visited his headquarters and told him that 'people in Handwara' were saying that women had been molested at Kunan on the night of the search. The Brigadier asked if any of those present could name any relative or other woman in the village who had been molested. None could name anybody. Nevertheless, the Brigadier said that if after inquiry the villagers made a specific complaint he would look into the matter and take severe action against anyone found guilty.

There was no come back from the villagers. But around March 3 or 4 the Deputy Commissioner (DC), Kupwara — Syed Mohammad Yasin — told his superior, Phunsong, the Special Commissioner, Baramulla, that he had heard of something untoward having happened in the village. He was advised to visit Kunan Poshpora, which he did a day or two later, but by that time the village chowkidar had also come in with a report. The DC was accompanied to Kunan Poshpora, some ten km from Kupwara via Trehgam, by the Tehsildar and SHO (Police) Trehgam, in whose jurisdiction Kunan falls, and the two J&K police constables from Trehgam, who had been with the Raj Rif search party on February 23 and 24. He was given a detailed account of what had transpired, handed over three whiskey bottles as evidence of the liquor the jawans had imbibed, and examined 23 women who said they had been raped, other victims having fled the village. He visited the affected homes and saw the tell-tale torn and blood-stained garments of the victims.

S.M. Yasin sent a confidential report to the Divisional Commmissioner, Kashmir — Wajahat Habibullah — at Srinagar on March 7 with copies to several others. The report leaked out and newspaper accounts quoted the DC as having stated that the armed forces 'behaved like violent beasts . . . a large number of armed personnel entered into the houses of villagers and at gunpoint gang-raped 23 women married, unmarried, and without any consideration of their age and pregnancy, etc'. "There was a hue and cry in the whole village", the report said.

A First Information Report, No. 10 u/s 375, 452, 342 of the Ranbir Penal Code, was registered at the Trehgam police station on March 8. On learning about this the Army deputed Brigadier H.K. Sharma, commanding another brigade, to conduct an inquiry which he did on March

10. A Defence Ministry release later dismissed the charge as 'malicious and untrue.'

Following Yasin's confidential letter to the Divisional Commissioner having leaked to the Press, *The Telegraph* of Calcutta ran a story on March 14. This brought an immediate contradiction from the Defence Ministry in Delhi. It was based on the information received through military channels. Subsequent reports to the effect that Wajahat Habibullah was so outraged by this denial that he resigned forthwith and sought early retirement from the IAS (Barbara Crossette, *New York Times*, April 7, 1991), were totally baseless.

Habibullah in fact conducted an inquiry into the Kunan incident on March 18. He was accompanied by the DG Police, a senior CRPF officer, the DC and SP, Kupwara, and the Army PRO of the XV Corps. Habibullah found the number of rape victims rising from 23 to 40 and then 53. (Subsequent Press reports put the figure around 100).

No complaint was made about the 4th Raj Rif officers. But it was said the men were drinking. Habibullah found no explanation for many simple questions. How was it that the number of rape victims kept fluctuating? That night search parties were in groups of six to eight persons while the two J&K police constables stood outside. If each woman was gang-raped by several men it would take more jawans than those present in the village. Why was the complaint so delayed? Why were there no screams or cries? Why was there no complaint the very next morning when the assembled villagers were addressed by the Commanding Officer (CO) and the no objection certificate (NOC) was signed? How was it that the women, including some bearing the same names as the rape victims, came forward to be treated by the Army Medical officer? And would troops on a hazardous cordon-and-search mission in a village known to be harbouring militants nonchalantly spend the night carousing and raping?

The Divisional Commissioner in his report found many discrepancies that led him to conclude that the charges levelled against the Army were grossly exaggerated though he did find some of the women in the village genuinely angry. He could not understand why the villagers had not reported the matter at once to the DC and if they said they had not done so as this would be of 'no use', why did they later — after ten days —

approach the very same official.

A medical examination of 32 alleged rape victims was conducted at the Primary Medical Centre, Kralpora, on March 15 and 21, 1991, by Dr. Mohammad Yaqoob — Block Medical Officer(BMO). The report was submitted by him to Dr S.M. Rafiq, Chief Medical Officer, District Hospital, Kupwara. It stated that all the women, barring four, were married and almost all of them uniformly had 'abrasions on the chest and abdomen'. The doctor found these injuries 'resolving'. In the case of three unmarried girls, however, the hymen was found torn. The Doctor advised further examination of these women by a gynaecologist or lady assistant surgeon. 'As per history, all of them were repeatedly raped, allegedly by Army personnel.' The remark appended to the examination of the 19 women examined on March 15 was, 'As per history, they were molested repeatedly about 20 days back'.

Thus, according to the BMO's report three women said they were raped, nineteen said they were molested, and there is no specific comment about the remaining ten. This is the 'women's say-so' and not a medical finding.

Such a delayed medical examination proves nothing. 'Abrasions on chest and abdomen' are likely to be common among village folk in Kashmir as they hug 'kangris' (earthen pots with burning coals) to ward off the winter chill. As for torn hymen, this could be a result of natural factors such as injury, pre-marital sex or rape. These three women were examined 26 days after the alleged incident. The fourth unmarried girl, examined on March 15, was described as having been only molested. The almost identical remarks otherwise made about the two categories of women, married or unmarried, are noteworthy.

Several newspapers reported that Zarifa (or Hanifa) aged 25, wife of Sanaullah Magdi and daughter of Mohammad Dar and Jangti, was nine months pregnant when raped by three jawans. According to Mukhtar Ahmed in the *Delhi Mid-day* she was raped by seven men. Mukhtar and Tim McGirk in *The Independent* (London) in its issue of March 19 added that Zarifa had been kicked in the womb by a soldier and delivered a baby boy in Kupwara's District Hospital four days later with a fractured arm in consequence.

The committee met almost all concerned: The Corps Commander,

Divisional Commander, Brigade Commander, Battalion Commander, medical officers, the Governor, DGP, the Divisional Commissioner, Kashmir; the Special Commissioner, Baramulla; the DC, Kupwara; Yasin, the SP Kupwara; S. K. Mishra, theTehsildar Kupwara; Mohd. Sikander Malik; and the CMO, Medical Superintendent and Chief Physician of the Kupwara District Hospital. It also visited Kunan Poshpora village and talked individually to several of the alleged rape victims in their homes, their menfolk, and other men who said they were interrogated or kept out in the cold all night long while the houses were being searched. The committee met the village headman or lambardar, a teacher, and the two J&K police constables of the Trehgam police station, who were present in Kunan on the fateful night.

According to the Army, Kunan and Lower Poshpora constitute a contiguous hamlet with about 120 houses. It is a known staging camp for infiltrators and weapon-carriers and had been searched twice before by the para-military forces. Having got an intercepted information that probably a number of militants with weapons were at Kunan Poshpora, 107 ORs and 9 JCOs with as many as 9 officers were detailed to conduct a cordon-and-search operation. Normally villages and mohallas may be cordoned off at night but are only searched by day. But exceptions are made when an elusive or important catch is anticipated. The outer cordon around Kunan Poshpora started forming with about 60 men after 11 p.m. A second column under the CO of the 4th Raj Rif set out later, picked up two J&K police constables from the Trehgam police station and reached the village a little after 1 a.m., moving through heavy snow.

The 'spotter' or informer with the search party identified eleven 'suspect' houses which were searched after the men, other than the aged, infirm and children, had been asked to collect outside the school, the first floor of which served as an interrogation centre and command post. An officer or JCO with four to six men formed half a dozen search parties, accompanied by the two J&K constables, who stood outside the houses. No militant was found but the inmates named certain other households thus extending the night search to another six or eight houses. The men from all these 'suspect' houses were interrogated and on their breaking down under questioning, two AK-47s, one of them plastered into a wall, and a pistol were recovered with ammunition. No militant was found.

The night search concluded around 4 a.m. Sometime after the morning azan (call for prayers), the two J&K policemen used the same loudspeaker to ask all the men from all the houses to gather outside the mosque which they did by about 6.30 a.m. The CO distributed sweets to some of the kids who appeared and the medical officer set up a clinic which was attended by twenty-three persons, including eight women, some of whom bore names similar to those who were subsequently named as rape victims.

Meanwhile, ten search parties were formed and, accompanied by representatives of the village, conducted a general search of all houses which was completed around 8.30 a.m. No complaints were made though all the houses were visited, the C.O. himself going into some of them. Thereafter, some village notables and the two J&K constables signed a no-objection certificate, which is a standard requirement after explaining this procedure to the villagers. Again, none complained.

The column left the village around 9 a.m. in a friendly atmosphere exemplified by the fact that the men were offered fruits and eggs and they later led the army jawans to a arms cache outside the cordon from where a stick grenade was recovered. Just before the Army departed, Cmdr 68 Bde arrived for a personal inspection and spoke to the headman, the teacher and some others. None complained or lodged any protest. It was only some days later on February 27 that Cmdr 68 Bde was informed by some villagers, that 'people in Handwara' were talking of some excesses at Kunan Poshpora. No names or details were vouchsafed. The rest of the sequence has been narrated.

Not more than ten or fifteen minutes were spent in each house during the night search as the Army was looking for militants or their collaborators, who alone would be able to lead them to any caches of arms and ammunition.

It is admitted that some women did offer resistance when men from the 'suspect' houses were being taken away for questioning during the limited night search. But this is held out to signify that even in remote villages, Kashmiri women, particularly in the militant-infested areas, are far from shy and docile and indeed quite aggressive in defending their men, shouting, screaming, beating their breasts and tearing their clothes, as experienced on other occasions too. Subsequently, most of the women,

as is their wont during searches, huddled in groups in a few houses.

Incidentally, a militant did surrender in Kunan some weeks after the cordon and search operation.

The DC, Yasin, in his letter to the Divisional Commissioner, said he had been given whiskey bottles which the jawans had left behind. He had handed these over to the police. He said that the women did not scream in the night and the no-objection certificate was given the next morning, all under duress. He also stated in writing that one of the rape victims had given birth to a child four days earlier, and cited this as an index of the brutality of the men as narrated to him.

Brigadier H.K. Sharma visited the village and in the course of his inquiry spoke to the headman — Abdul Aziz Shah — and others. On being asked about alleged excesses, thirty women were produced before him of whom thirteen specifically said they were raped. Others were seen giggling. The first woman who came forward was the abandoned wife of a mad person whose whereabouts are unknown. He was only shown an old, torn cotton 'pheren' (long cloth) but no wollen garments and saw no signs of broken doors or locks. He listed six J&K police personnel from Kunan Poshpora whose women were allegedly raped or molested despite their families stating that they showed these men's ID cards, belts, service numbers, etc. The men themselves were away in Srinagar or elsewhere on duty.

The committee went to Kunan Poshpora on June 11, 1991 with a civil escort and the Tehsildar — Mohammad Sikander Malik — acted as the interpreter. We (the committee members) visited some homes and talked to the alleged rape victims in the presence of older female relatives. The older women did the talking.

Makhati — wife of Jumma, the village guard — and her daughter Munira — wife of Ghulam Mohiuddin of Lower Poshpora — told us of their experience. Makhti said that at about 1 a.m. some men entered the house and took her husband out. Munira was raped by two men. She called her mother but did not scream. Jumma said he returned home after an hour but his wife disagreed and insisted he had only come home much later. We asked him why, as a village guard, he had not reported the matter. He replied that it was no use telling anyone and in any event he was unwell and could not walk. But he did speak to the DC about what

had happened when Yasin visited the village on March 5, and had got some medicines for Munira from Trehgam on a prescription. He said his daughter was medically examined at Kralpora some time in March. She was taken there with a group of women by the police.

Lassi — wife of Rustam Sheikh — and deaf-mute Sajji — wife of Ahmed Sheikh — pointed out that their front door was broken open around midnight. Five men entered and hustled the men out and then raped both women. Lassi said her thighs were very badly bruised and asked for the law under which such a thing could happen. She totally denied that any search was conducted and insisted that the troops had only come to satisfy their lust. She said she would not be able to recognise the men as there was no light. She had pleaded that her son was in the J&K Police and had sought to prove this. But this had no effect on the jawans. She did not report the matter to anyone. But this was talked about in the village.

In another house, Jangti — wife of Mohammad Dar — and Aziz Didi, her mother-in-law — wife of Ghani Dar — recounted their story. Zarifa, Jangti's daughter and wife of Sanaullah Magdi of Kandi, Handwara, was at home for her confinement. The family was asleep when there was banging at the door. Fearful of what this might portend, Jangti took Zarifa up to the first floor. The power had been cut off. Some jawans forcibly entered the house and, coming upstairs, two men advanced on Zarifa who was nine months pregnant. Jangti struggled to protect her daughter and finally jumped out of the window, landing on a snow-drift where she lay or stood all night long until two J&K policemen found her at the time of the morning azan at 3.30 or 4 a.m. There was a good deal of screaming. "It was like a tooffan," Jangti recalled.

Zarifa was raped by three men, Jangti recalled, and delivered a baby boy three days later at the Kupwara District Hospital. The baby's arm was damaged (fractured is what the newspapers said). The doctors attending the delivery were not told of the assault on Zarifa but, sensing something wrong, they inquired and learnt the truth. Zarifa was in hospital for two or three days and returned home after which a Kralpora doctor treated her. Zarifa was later medically examined with the other alleged rape victims at Kralpora. We (the committee) members could not meet Zarifa. She was with her husband in their home at Kandi, Hand-

wara.

What Jangti said is noteworthy. According to her Zarifa delivered a baby three days later, while the DC's report says Zarifa had delivered her baby three days before the rape. The baby's fractured arm was attributed by newspapers to Zarifa being kicked in the stomach by a jawan in the course of the assault on her. At the Kupwara District Hospital we spoke to the physician — Dr Ali Mohammad Sheikh — who recalled being summoned to treat the baby which was born with a fractured humerus. The doctor bandaged the infant's arm and referred the case to the Bone and Joint Hospital, Srinagar. What happened after that? The doctor did not know. Although Zarifa had told those attending on her delivery about the assault when they suspected something wrong, the hospital seems to have ignored the matter and not pursued it either medically or legally.

The committee was given to understand from medical experts that babies can be born with fractured limbs if 'dais' (maid doctors) or doctors hook on to them to position the foetus correctly or otherwise to ease the delivery.

At yet another house the committee met Zebi, wife of Jabbar Dar and her unmarried daughter, Nasima, aged about twenty. Zebi said her husband had gone mad some years ago and she did not know where he was. It was the same story. The lights went off. Some jawans entered the house and took away her two sons aged fifteen and seventeen for interrogation. Three men then raped her and her daughter. The assault must have lasted about two hours. She fell unconscious. Later her sons returned and one reported the incident to an officer at the interrogation centre but was slapped. The boys, however, raised a hue and cry, hearing which some other men too got agitated. Zebi was a bit incoherent at this point and it was not clear how things progressed. But at some stage a military officer also came by. Zebi said she would not be able to recognise the men who assaulted her and her daughter as well as a third woman who was also in the house. "No one will want to marry my daughter," she wailed.

The next house the committee members entered was that of the lambardar (elected headman), Aziz Shah. He said he heard a midnight knock. The women of the house were downstairs. The jawans bound his

hands and dropped him into a 'nullah'. His head was ducked in a bucket and some men trampled over his body. Along with some others he was kept out in the cold all night. On returning home in the morning, he discovered that his daughter-in-law, Halima, married to his son, Ghulam Rasool of the J&K Police, had been raped by two men. His son came home two or three days later and was greatly affected by the treatment meted out to his father.

The committee asked Aziz Shah the reason why, as an elected official and an intermediary between the village and the Government, he did not take some action as he was duty bound to do. He said he was unwell. After some days, when he was better he made enquiries at affected homes and estimated that forty women had been violated in about thirty houses. With twelve others he met the "DC Sahib" at Trehgam on February 27 and narrated Kunan Poshpora's tale of woe. But neither the names were mentioned, not even Halima's, nor did Ghulam Rasool — Halima's husband — report the incident to his superiors in the police.

Aziz Shah estimated the number of troops in the village as between 200 to 500 with mere outside the village forming the cordon party. He denied that any medical clinic was conducted the next morning by the medical officer and insisted that none from the village goes to the Army's MI room at Trehgam. He showed us a medical bill for some drugs purchased at Kupwara quite some time later.

Phabi, wife of Ghulam Mohammad, is a mother of three and has an unmarried sister, Pitho, staying with her. Some men entered the house, and broke the light bulb after which two of them raped her and her sister. She fainted.

At the 'interrogation centre', located on the first floor of the school buidling, a number of men told the committee that their faces had been ducked in a bucket full of water mixed with chillies powder. One man said he was administered electric shocks with wires attached to a battery. Another said that he was made to lie down after twelve men trampled on a board laid over his body. There were no lights, but a fire had been lit.

Various by-standers lamented: "We helped India in 1965 and what have we got?" "Gandhi's India and democracy in India are dead." "Islam has no place in India." "It is no crime to ask for freedom." "Nyari Fauj (the 4th Raj Rif) are a bad lot." The teacher delivered quite a harangue

and told them what they must tell Chandra Shekhar — the Prime Minister — and Venkataraman — the President. It was quite a speech. Abdul Rahim said they went to Cmdr 68 Bde on February 27 because they were afraid of bypassing the Army. They waited for five days and on not getting any satisfactory response, reported the incident to the DC. Rape was committed in 33 houses for certain. Others were unwilling to disclose their shame, the committee members were told.

As we committee members were leaving the village they were summoned back to speak to a group of four or five distinctly younger girls standing outside a house while a curious youthful crowd watched the scene from across the lane barely a feet or two away. They were told that these too were victims. They seemed quite unashamed to be lined up in public.

Mukhtar Ahmed, reporting from Kupwara for *Delhi Mid-day* (March 18, 1991), cites Mohd. Abdullah Dar — a farmer — as saying that 'women were crying for help. But we could not save their honour. The cries continued throughout the night. Where is the Government? Where are the officials? The tragic part is that our Radio Kashmir kept mum. The radio did not bother to broadcast the news,' Dar wailed helplessly. That is an interesting comment. The heavy accent on publicity says something.

Two J&K Police constables accompanied the 4th Raj Rif cordon and search party. One of them, Abdul Ghani, belongs to Kunan Poshpora and frequently visits his parents and sister there though he himself lives at the Police Lines, Kupwara. He has 12 years service and has been posted at Trehgam since September 1990. Both he and his fellow constable, Bashir Ahmed, whom the commitee members also met, signed the NOC at Kunan Poshpora on the completion of the cordon and search operation on February 24, 1991.

The committee spoke to Abdul Ghani at Trehgam. He said a military column reached the Trehgam police station around 11 p.m. on February 23, and asked for an escort. The SHO sanctioned the request and he along with Bashir Ahmed was detailed to accompany the force. The road to Kunan Poshpora was closed on account of snow and he walked with the column which was led by the CO, 4th Raj Rif. They got to the village at about 1.15 a.m. and went to the Islamia Model School where he saw

about thirty to forty men assembled outside. They told him they had been there since about 10 or 11 p.m. Kunan Poshpora is an electrified village and some lights were on. He accompanied the CO on a round of the village at about 2 a.m. and returned to the school within half an hour. The search had started earlier.

The officers were on the first floor of the school building and he and Bashir Ahmed stood below with the men who had been assembled there. Some of them had lit a fire to keep warm.

Since screams and cries of women and children pierced the silence all night long, the men outside the school, who obviously belonged to the houses being searched, grew restive and asked Abdul Ghani to investigate. So both he and Bashir Ahmed jointly and separately made a couple of forays to find out what was going on. At some stage, an officer gave each policeman one of his gloves as a mark of identity so that they should not be stopped by the jawans.

Abdul Ghani went round and shouted 'Awaz bandh karo' (Stop that noise), to which some women replied 'Hamey tang kar rahe hain' (They are troubling us). The doors and windows of these houses were open. There were no lights. The cries would stop momentarily but would soon resume.

At one point Abdul Ghani went up to the house of Ghani Dar — son of Asad Dar. Being familiar with the village he knew that a pregnant woman lived there. One of the older women in the house cried out, "Tang Kiya." Abdul Ghani replied, "I'm here. Don't worry," shining his torch or a light of some kind on his face and uniform for identification. There was silence for a while after which cries could be heard again. (Was this Zarifa's house?)

Around 3 a.m. there was a scream. An officer called out from the first floor of the school and aksed Abdul Ghani to investigate. He went to a house some 40 or 50 yards away and there saw a bare headed and bare-footed woman in a pheren without any salwar standing outside. Two jawans could be seen in the open doorway. They covered their faces in their parkas (part of turban) and slunk away in a hurry as the woman cried "Save my child." The woman, however, said nothing, when asked what was wrong. Abdul Ghani took the woman and a child to a neighbour's house and, knocking at the door, asked the family to take

care of them. (Was the women Jangti — Zarifa's mother?)

Asked what meaning he would read into the word 'tang', Abdul Ghani said it could imply 'beating, tearing of clothes, sitting beside a woman, or even rape'. In other houses, the response to his call 'Awaz bandh karo' was 'Mare gaye'.

From all this it transpires that screams and cries could be distinctly heard throughout the night by the men being held in the open space beside the school as well as by the officers of the 4th Raj Rif. Abdul Ghani himself said the men were agitated and he had heard women say 'tang kiya', 'mare gaye', and 'Save my child'. Yet, he did nothing to find out what was going on or to report then or later to the CO or any other officer.

Sometime after the morning azan, all the remaining men, still indoors, were summoned to assemble outside. The Army doctor treated some patients, both men and old women. After the search was completed the CO addressed the gathering. Before signing the no-objection certificate (NOC), Abdul Ghani asked the villagers if anyone had any complaint. None did. Both he and Bashir Ahmed then signed the NOC. So did four others, he recalled.

Abdul Ghani left the village with the column shortly after 9 a.m. and reached Trehgam by noon. He reported to the Station House Officer (SHO), Trehgam police station, and stated that there had been no complaints and that the NOC had been signed. Two days later, Abdul Ghani, on an overnight leave, returned to Trehgam to visit his family members who live in Upper Poshpora. That must have been on February 26. He was told that a lot of people in the village seemed to be ill. There was otherwise little discussion about the events of February 23 and 24.

His next visit to Kunan Poshpora was on March 5 when the DC went to the village to make inquiries, accompanied by the Tehsildar and SHO. The DC did not question him, Abdul Ghani said. An FIR was filed. Even at this stage he did not speak to his immediate superiors in the Police or to the SP, Kupwara — S. K. Mishra — who told the committee that although quite a few J&K policemen belong to Kunan-Poshpora, none made any kind of report or complaint to him.

While at Kupwara, the committee met the local reporter of the *Al Safa* — one of Srinagar's leading dailies — at the district hospital. And though Trehgam and Kunan Poshpora are fairly close at hand, yet no

newspaper got scent of the story until the DC's report to the Divisional Commissioner leaked into print on March 14. And the *Al Safa*, which hinted at the incident before any other paper and had photographs of the rape victims by one account, curiously ran a long reprint of an earlier dispatch by Ghulam Nabi Khayal — a stringer of the UPI — entitled, *Mass rape leaves village in the shock.* This English language report in an Urdu daily appeared in *Al Safa's* issue dated May 26, 1991. (Why?)

A senior J&K newspaperman says he spoke to the DC, Kupwara, on the phone after the Kunan story broke. According to him, the DC admitted three rapes but felt compelled to report twenty-three fearing a threat to his life. When the committee met the DC, he said that he had had examined twenty-three women and had recorded what they told him. The trauma, he witnessed in the village, appeared to constitute the circumstantial evidence on which he based his report in which he had recommended a full inquiry. However, his report was clearly anecdotal, hardly investigative. This is important since all else flowed from this report. Newsmen subsequently took the alleged incident as a proven fact because the DC had said so and because an FIR had been filed.

Before leaving Trehgam the committee visited the MI Room at the 68 Bde Hqrs on June 12. It was a little before 10 a.m. Some 15 or 20 patients were seated on a bench in the process of being registered before treatment. Several of these were women with children and had come from a number of villages around. The committee inquired why they should trek so far. They said that the Government health facilities, including those at the district hospital — if they existed at all — were very poor. They came to the MI Room, Trehgam, because they had found they got prompt attention here.

Among the out-door patients on June 12, 1991 were a man and two women with children, from Kunan Poshpora. They talked freely and expressed confidence in Army doctors. The committee inspected the attendance register maintained at the MI Room and found confirmation of what they had been told, namely — women and children from Kunan Poshpora and villages further afield had been regularly visiting the MI Room even on the days immediately following the alleged rape which should have struck terror and caused the utmost revulsion and disgust against the Army. Many women bear the same names as those of the

alleged rape victims though family details are not available.

The committee was fortunate to come across a video cassette in which twenty-five women and some men of the village recounted what had happened to them at Kunan Poshpora. The cassette carries no credits and was made around mid-April, 1990, by unknown persons. It came to the committee through human rights sources.

Right at the start, the narrator tells viewers that Kunan Poshpora is inhabited by poor and illiterate farmers. However, all the women appear well groomed and dressed for an occasion in the video film unlike the grimy ladies we saw in the village. Many of them used a common phrase like 'that was a night of andhi and toofan'. Several made special reference to heavy drinking by the Army jawans. Quite a few said they became unconscious. A male narrator estimating that fifty to sixty women were so found the next morning. The women uniformly said that neither they nor their children could cry or scream because guns were pointed at them or they were gagged. Not even a few emphasized that this was Kunan's third cordon and search operation and nothing untoward had happened on the two previous occasions.

Rafiqa said her children were thrown out of the window by the jawans. Nothing is said of what happened to them or what she did at that moment. But guns seem pointed at everyone. Zaitoona — a victim of polio — said she too was raped. One woman said that when she remonstrated with the jawans they laughed and said that their officers had told them that they could take liberties. A second woman said, "We told the officers next morning." A third one informed viewers that the medical examination they underwent at Kralpora later lasted from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. and that the doctor confirmed that they had been raped. Tears came to her eyes too with the shame of it all. A fourth one said civil and military officers had come to the village, and seen and heard all only to deny that anything had happened. She denounced these men. "We are not trading on our honour. Why do these officials not believe us?" she remonstrated.

The crowning testimony was that of Zarifa and her mother, who separately stated that Zarifa had delivered a baby 6 days before the fateful night. Zarifa said, "They hurt my baby of 6 days." Her mother said that around the time of azan 'when the cock crows' three men came and took her daughter to another room. This is not what she had told the committee

at Kunan.

And at the end, Muzaffar Ahmed — a private teacher — delivered the same impassioned peroration we had heard at Kunan. He denounced the Divisional Commissioner who, though a Muslim, had after seeing and hearing everything, reported that nothing had happened at Kunan; the UN and Amnesty had been barred from Kashmir; Indians 'don't care for the honour of Kashmiri women and only want the land of Kashmir'; where was the India of Gandhi, democracy, minority rights and human dignity, he asked?

The cassette appears to build up to this political statement which comes strangely from a poor, illiterate village, which has nothing to do with militants, the viewers are told.

The committee members have dwelt on the Kunan Poshpora incident at considerable length not only because it is the most brutal alleged assault on women in Kashmir thus far but because it has received a great deal of international publicity in the media and through the Amnesty and the Asia Watch.

After going into the matter as carefully and fully as possible the committee found that the evidence offered, whether directly to us or through earlier news accounts, is riddled with contradictions of the most elementary kind. We concur with the Divisional Commissioner's finding that the so-called incident has at best been grossly exaggerated. Indeed, we would go further. In the absence of any credible evidence it would appear to be an invention, a hurriedly-contrived piece of dissimulation which finally broke down under the weight of its own contradictions. The committee's own visit to Kunan Poshpora and its meeting with the dramatis personae gives the lie to the cassette which provides conclusive evidence that the video recording was a carefully rehearsed piece of misinformation made and marketed to arouse anger and hatred against India among viewers unacquainted with the facts, to intensify alienation and to win external sympathy.

It seems beyond belief that such a horrendous and traumatic event that understandably aroused such anger should remain totally unreported for ten days. Two principal defences are offered. First, the village is in a remote area and was snowbound and, secondly, that traditional village women are shy and would be ashamed to disclose the details to their

families and neighbours let alone to others, such being the social stigma attached to rape, especially of unmarried girls. Kunan is not a particularly remote village and is barely four km from the Trehgam police station and may be ten km from Kupwara, the district headquarters. If it was so badly snowbound it seems amazing that Zarifa — the nine-month pregnant girl so cruelly raped and kicked in the stomach — should be able to reach the Kupwara District Hospital two or three days after the rape, should deliver a baby with a fractured arm and return home, all before the word went out about Kunan's night of shame. But word was out. Zarifa's doctors at the Kupwara hospital knew. They did nothing, though the DC and SP were next doors.

The Kunan men say that they were all herded out of their homes and not allowed to return until after the Army column left and so could not protest to the CO, 4th Raj Rif or Cmdr 68 Bde. This is flatly contradicted by Zebi — wife of Jabbar Dar — who said her two sons raised a hue and cry and even reported to an officer who refused to take notice of the complaint. The women in general said that they did not scream or cry because they were held at gunpoint. But Abdul Ghani — the J&K escort policeman — says screams and cries rent the air throughout the night. He goes further. He investigated them, once at the instance of an officer, and on another occasion at the prompting of the men assembled outside the school, who were greatly agitated on hearing the wailing of women and children. And despite being told 'tang kiya', 'save my child', 'mare gaye', all desperate cries for succour, he did nothing, said nothing and reported nothing. His testimony is incredible.

Abdul Ghani belongs to Kunan Poshpora. He knows all the folks personally. Yet he signed a NOC which he knew to be false — again at gun point we are told by the DC. Let that be. He goes home a couple of days after this hideous experience. He had no difficulty getting to Kunan from Trehgam. He makes no inquiries and barely discusses the matter with his family. Neither he nor Bashir Ahmed nor any of the other Kunan police personnel pursue the matter with their superiors.

The BMO's medical report on the alleged thirty-two rape cases is worthless. The DC records in writing that Zarifa delivered her child three days before the event and was raped even in that delicate condition. The district hospital, next door, records that Zarifa delivered three days later

and the baby's fractured arm is cited in newspaper reports as evidence of the brutal manner in which a nine months pregnant woman was raped and kicked in that delicate condition. Zarifa's mother told the committee the baby was born after the rape; but on the cassette she confirm's Zarifa's own statement that the baby was born 6 days earlier. And Zarifa's mother jumped out of the first floor of her home, she would have the committee know, and spent several hours of what must have been a bitterly cold night just shuffling around when she would have been expected to rush up to the nearby school as the men were assembled outside the school building and shout to prevent any harm and indignity to her pregnant daughter. Her version in the cassette tells a very different tale.

The lambardar — whose daughter-in-law was raped — was too unwell to report the matter to anybody. But two or three days later when his policeman son visited the village (long before the DC appeared on the scene), he, too, did nothing. Truly, the equanimity of all these Kunan Poshpora men in the face of what must surely be the greatest outrage the village has suffered in living memory, appears extraordinary. That is until the eighth or tenth day. Thereafter, everyone has been tirelessly seeking publicity. None is coy or afraid. The lament is that Radio Kashmir did not broadcast the news. Interviews are sought and granted. The news is printed and circulated worldwide and reprinted again months later. A video recording is made. The transformation is remarkable. And there is little to explain it.

No one has complained against the Army officers. Yet they were there at Kunan in strength. Kunan Poshpora is not without a military history. Weapons were recovered in that very cordon and search operation. And on that cold winter's night it seems difficult to imagine that — by the arithmetic of the stories narrated — the entire body of ORs, numbering 60, spent the small hours in ruthless abandon, gang-raping twenty-three, or thirty-two, or forty, or near hundred women when they could have got a bullet in the back at any moment. And after the orgy, some of those same women or their neighbours went to the same formation doctor in Kunan itself, and subsequently at Trehgam, and sought medical treatment for themselves and their loved ones!

The CO, 4th Raj Rif and Cmdr 68 Bde assert that the night search was

limited to only a given number of houses suspected of concealing militants or arms. It is the women of these houses who were the prime 'rape' victims. It is held by some of those the committee met that the mass rape story was an afterthought, retailed and orchestrated by militants and their sympathizers and mentors to denigrate the Indian Army. It was the militant's revenge. The theory is not fanciful.

The question asked repeatedly is whether so many women would testify to something as detestable as rape unless something really happened? If one or two women had said they were raped that might have been more credible. Delayed reports of evergrowing numbers would dilute family diffidence, stigma or shame. And there would be no stigma whatever if, according to insider knowledge, the story was not true at all but propagated and retailed on video for a 'cause'. Militants have when necessary, been extremely brutal and have not hesitated to employ terror-tactics. Kunan lies in a heavily militant-infested area along the main infiltration routes form PoK from where arms supplies, trained personnel, ideology material and strategic doctrines flow. Kunan too, is vulnerable. Unless far better evidence is forthcoming, the Kunan rape story stands totally unproven and completely unture, a dirty trick to frame the Army and get it to lay off Kunan Poshpora — which is precisely what it has done.

Pazipora Incident

Pazipora is few km from Kunan Poshpora and also located in Kupwara district. On August 10, 1990 an Army patrol from the 6th Rajputs, also of 68 Bde, was ambushed after a morning search of Didikot village. In the ensuing chase and battle it is alleged that twenty-five persons of Pazipora were killed, eight to fifteen or more women of Pazipora-Ballipora (an adjacent village) raped, and several houses in Pazipora set on fire. This alleged incident was widely reported in the local, national and foreign Press and by human rights groups. While the accounts vary, the broad contours are to be found in various news reports, including *Protectors or Predators* from *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, Sept. 20, 1990.

The committee planned to visit Pazipora but could not do so for want of time. However, it met the CO and officers of the 6th Rajputs,

Phunsong; the Special Commissioner, Baramulla — who visited the village a day after the event; the SP Kupwara; and others.

According to the CO, 6th Rajputs and Cmdr 68 Bde, the search of Didikot having proved infructuous, the force pulled out and was returning to camp in two separate foot and vehicle columns around 10.30 to 11 a.m. when first the one and then the other were ambushed by militants near Upper Pazipora. Thereafter, a running encounter ensued in the Pazipora-Balipora area, both adjacent villages. All able-bodied persons had deserted Pazipora, but for some militants, who opened fire, while the women of the village had taken shelter at nearby Balipora. The scene of action shifted to the fields around Balipora and some peripheral hamlets with the troops in hot pursuit, exchanging fire as they moved through strands of maize and paddy.

Two groups of militants escaped into the jungle while at least two other groups were engaged. Twelve militants were killed and four apprehended, three of them with injuries. Recoveries included one LMG, one AK 47 and a pistol. The bodies of twelve dead militants were recovered from the fields after a search by the jawans, with assistance from a number of villagers. Four jawans of the 6th Rajputs suffered injuries. The 'spotter' or informer with them was also wounded and later died of his injuries.

All the alleged cases of rape and molestation are said to have taken place at Balipora, where the Pazipora women had sought refuge. They were congregated in a cowshed in a peripheral hamlet almost entirely occupied by the Khoja family, which reportedly had strong militant and criminal connections. As the Balipora pursuit group neared the hamlet and was fired upon from the fields, Saja — wife of Abdulla Khoja, one of five brothers — ran into the fields but was pursued by an officer and brought back to the cowshed. Some of the Khoja houses were searched and, there being no men, Saja — aged about 60 — as the eldest woman, accompanied the search party. She has not complained of rape but says she was hit under the eye by a rifle butt. This is denied, and a scar or mark she cites as evidence cannot, according to the Army, inflicted by a rifle butt.

The versions about the Pazipora rape vary. Justice Bahauddin Farooqi (Retd.) has the most graphic account in Vol. II of *Kashmir Aflame*: "The

jawans were seen carrying bottles of liquor in pockets and guns in hands . . . 20 to 30 women were lodged in a spacious house . . . The jawans pounced on them like vultures . . . 10/15 robust, attractive and healthy women (were) isolated between the age of 7 year and 50 year. One group of lusty soldiers tore their clothes to shreds and rendered them nude. A bonfire was made of their garments . . . and (they) were raped one by one . . . after crying slogans of 'Jai Hind" and so on . . . A local police officer told . . . that though 10 cases of molestation of women had been reported, only 3 cases had been registered . . . The 3 victims were taken to the Government Hospital, Kupwara, for medical check-up after a week or more of the unfortunate incident . . . For fear of further humiliation in the society, the names of the victims are being held back."

The extravagenza of the language used by the former Chief Justice of the J&K High Court and the firm conclusions he for one has arrived at without attempting to cross-check or assess the evidence or the probabilities is breathtaking. The judge visited Pazipora-Balipora on August 15.

Reporting in the August 24, 1990 issue of *India Week*, (*Mar Loge, Ya Pyar Doge?*) N.V. Subramanian and Brij Raj Singh certify six cases of rape. Three victims — Atiqua, Jana and Taja — spoke to them. Atiqua, aged 20, unmarried but engaged, claims to have been raped by three men and says she can recognise her assailants. Taja, 22, was also gang-raped and says she too can recognise those who raped her. However, no identification parade has been conducted. This is strange. The correspondents state that 'the outrage is medically unproven' but the 'charge has been bolstered by FIR No. 40/90 under sections 376/342 IPC registered by the SHO Shah' with the approval of S.K. Mishra, SP, Kupwara.

According to Sukhmani Singh of *The Illustrated Weekly*, about eight women were raped by eight to ten men each. Among the victims was 16-year-old Rukhsana who was 'whisked away from her uncle's compound in Balipora'. A doctor in the Kupwara district hospital corroborates that the five women brought to her from Pazipora 'were all definitely victims of rape' and that these cases had been registered with the police. But she added that she herself had yet to prepare the reports of the (rape) victims she had examined. That is interesting. The rape allegedly occurred on August 10. The medical examination took place

at least a week later, and when Sukhmani Singh spoke to the lady doctor some or several days thereafter, the essential task of writing up the medical report on a criminal charge that must have caused consternation in Kupwara was yet to be completed.

The Asia Watch reported six rapes at Pazipora but had been unable to confirm these. It stated that the local J&K Police were reportedly prevented from filing FIRs. But an FIR had been filed.

The rapes allegedly took place at Balipora and here the troop strength of the 6th Rajputs was just thirty men, including officers. It is admitted that there was exchange of fire and a number of bodies were recovered from the fields. The Rajputs too suffered casualities. Weapons were recovered. According to the Army, the force started moving out of the area finally just after 2 p.m. It strains the imagination to be told that in the space of three hours during which militants were being chased and fire exchanged in a running battle spread over a large area, thirty soldiers in Balipora, also a scene of firing, should find both the time and the mood ripe for parading lovely women in the nude, making bonfires of their clothes and then gang-raping them while bullets could have got their lives at any time. And all this in broad daylight in a semi-open cowshed.

The Army also claims that several policemen and the SHO, Vilgam, (which has the jurisdiction here) were in Pazipora from 1 to 5 p.m. that day. Further one of the unmarried girls who was allegedly raped, reportedly got married some months later to nobody's shame. Inquiries by the Army failed to reveal the whereabouts of 16-year-old Rukhsana — who, Sukhmani Singh suggests — was raped by seven jawans. There is no Rukhsana who fits the description in Balipora. Queried on this, Sukhmani Singh is said to have stated that Rukhsana does not exist. She had used a fictitious name to protect the identity of the actual victim. This is a legitimate practice but in every such case it must be clearly stated that a fictitious name is being used to save the person concerned from avoidable embarrassment or whatever. By not doing so in a story, making a specific and major charge against the Indian Army, Sukhmani Singh was clearly guilty of a gross journalistic impropriety, possibly born of inexperience. She made a similar allegation against 68 Bde at Trehgam with reference to the rape and gorging out of the cheek of a so-called Mumtaz of Tangwari Mohalla in the very same story *Protectors or*

Predators in *The Illustrated Weekly*. Again, when Army investigations revealed that no such person exists — and the village mohalla named is exactly twenty-five metres from the gate of the 68 Bde Hqrs — Sukhmani Singh apparently confirmed that the Army's search must obviously have been in vain as the fictitious name Mumtaz had been used without disclosing the fact. In any event the Tangwari Mohalla elders confirmed in writing that the cheek of no girls by any name had been gorged out as stated in the article.

Sukhmani Singh quotes the DGP, J. N. Saxena, as saying that Pazipora residents sent in a list of 14 rape cases but 'these allegations were made two days after the incident. Nobody came forward at that tim'. This is more specifically confirmed by the Special Commissioner, Baramulla — Phunsong, who told the committee that he visited Pazipora the very day after the incident, namely on August 11, 1990. He was shown the bodies but nobody mentioned a word about rape. The first reference to rape came only that evening or later. This is surprising and, as at Kunan Poshpora, the rape charge which is what has caused the greatest indignation and concern, was made as an afterthought.

The alleged rape of Saja or Saba, aged 26, is also challenged. *The Illustrated Weekly* story says she was raped after her husband, and brother-in-law were shot by the jawans. According to the army and the lambardar of Pazipora — Mohd Jamal Butt — Saja or Saba is not 26 but 45 and her husband, Ghulam Ahmed Butt, is not dead but is still in Upper Pazipora. He has also certified in writing that after due inquiry he is in a position to state that Saba 'has neither been molested or disgraced nor has she been beaten'.

The other charge is that whereas the Army handed over thirteen bodies to the civil authorities after the Pazipora-Balipora action on August 10, the villagers claim to have found twelve more bodies later, taking the total to twenty-five. Bahauddin Farooqi lists twenty-five names. It is quite possible that some bodies remained undiscovered in the fields — lying concealed in the standing crop — and were located only later. This would be a perfectly reasonable explanation and can also be accounted for as battle casualties since these very fields were the scene of firing. That some innocent farmers got killed in the crossfire is also quite possible — not all those killed may have been militants. But none of this

answers the Army's question as to why no post mortem was conducted on the twelve additional bodies said to have been found later when this is a mandatory requirement if foul play or indiscriminate killing of innocent civilians is alleged. This is a material point and needs an answer.

Bahauddin Farooqi has also complained of several people being detained. The Naib Tehsildar did get some of those arrested released, as he felt he could vouch for their integrity. It is, however, reported that he later got a call, obviously from militant sources, saying 'Kya aap iske chacha hain? Unko bhi ladney do azadi ke liye' (Are you his uncle? Let them too fight for freedom).

In other words, a cause had to be sustained. And charges of rape, indiscriminate killing, arson and large-scale arrests provided grist to the mill. Pazipora is not particularly a large village, but it has contributed many recruits to military organisations. Like Kunan Poshpora, it is located along with major exfiltration and infiltration routes to and from PoK and arms supplies too, pass that way.

In accordance with the regulations, a no-objection certificate was sought from Balipora residents before the 6th Rajputs left the village. The NOC stated that 'we have not been tortured or harassed nor have we any complaint, etc' and was signed by Ghulam Rasool Wani.

A court of inquiry was immediately instituted by the local Army authorities as soon as the various allegations about Pazipora-Balipora surfaced. It found the reports of excesses to be false and part of a well-coordinated and larger campaign by militants to malign the Army and create alienation between it and the local people both of whom have traditionally maintained very cordial relations in this area.

Intercepted information on militant communications have revealed interesting details of how these organisations operate. According to army sources, an electronic warfare intercept logged by an electronic warfare detachment on December 15, 1990 revealed that a certain militant had raped the daughter of one Abdul Khaliq. Such incidents too are laid at the door of the security forces so as to show them in a bad light and put them on the defensive. Another intercept on January 2, 1991 revealed that militants had planned to wear Army uniforms and get themselves photographed near burnt houses in village Tikker, Kupwara and thus let the Army defend itself against the charge of arson. Apparently, militant

groups have managed to get hold of Army fatigues (condemned), dresses and auctioned Army jeeps so as to enable themselves to pose as regular members of the Indian armed forces. These are typical tactics of psychological warfare.

Tengpora and Zakoora crossing incidents

On March 2, 1990 the Amnesty International issued a second appeal for Urgent Action on Kashmir pertaining to Tengpora and Zakoora. Reports of these two incidents which took place just a day — earlier, on March 1 — on the outskirts of Srinagar, were duly published in the Indian Press. A detailed account appeared in the March 31, 1990 issue of the *Economic and Political Weekly* of Bombay, which reproduced the text of *India's Kashmir War* by a team of four members of the Committee for Initiative on Kashmir. Excerpts from that same report were quoted in the "Diary of a Recluse" by S. Mulgaokar in *The Indian Express* on April 7, 1991.

The Committee for Initiative on Kashmir basically accused the Army of unprovoked firing on peaceful demonstrators, in both cases. In the case of the Tengpora-Bemina bypass incident it is alleged that the Army had resorted to a subterfuge by falsely stating that its escort opened fire when an excited mob pelted stones at a bus carrying children of the Army School while they were being dropped home. The grievance of the charge is that the court of inquiry was an eyewash — since all schools were closed for extended winter holidays by a Government order and that there is, in any case, no Army school in that vicinity.

The facts are otherwise. There is an Army school in the cantonment at Badami Bagh in Srinagar. This is attended by children of armed forces personnel at Badami Bagh and other army locations, one of which is at Sharifabad near the HMT factory. Some children of civilian parents have also been enrolled as per the availability space. Life in Srinagar had been disrupted by the mass agitation in the Valley through the early months of 1990. It is for this reason that the Government ordered extension of the winter holidays until some normalcy was restored. This order was, however, not binding on the Army, which continued to run the Army school in Badami Bagh cantonment, fetching and dropping back children from other locations in school buses provided with an Army escort. It

was one such bus that was confronted by the mob at Tengpora on March 1.

According to senior officers at XV Corps Hqs whom the committee met, thirty-seven school children of classes I to IX were in two vehicles with a small escort of guards. Near the Batmaloo crossing, a large number of processionists dismounted from their vehicles and tried to enter the school bus by seeking to tear down the protective wire netting fixed at the rear. Sensing trouble, the JCO fired a single warning shot. This was disregarded and the mob pressed on. Fearing that they might be overwhelmed, the JCO ordered the naik accompanying him to fire. Eight rounds were fired, seven by the naik and one by the JCO. Eight persons were killed. The mob dispersed and the children were safely delivered home.

In the second incident, at the same afternoon, Zakoora crossing, the allegation once again is that there was unprovoked firing by Army personnel moving in a convoy of vehicles which forced its way into a huge procession rather than give way for the demonstrators to pass. A jawan then snatched a flag from a processionist and firing commenced immediately thereafter. According to the Army version, an Army convoy consisting of some five vehicles with three JCOs and twenty-five men was returning to Srinagar from Gund when it found its way blocked at the Zakoora crossing. The convoy was stoned, anti-India slogans were shouted and an attempt was made to snatch weapons from the hands of the jawans. At this, a JCO fired a warning shot which had no effect. Thereupon the troops opened fire in self-defence. Thirty seven rounds were fired. The mob scattered and the convoy returned to the base. According to the Army, neither the local SHO nor the Soura Medical Institute had any evidence of death as a result of the firing (though this is disputed). The Press, however, reported twenty-two killed.

Two courts of inquiry were held immediately by the Army. This found that eight persons had been killed by firing at Tengpora but none at Zakoora — according to contemporary police or hospital sources. In both cases, firing was found to be justified and in self-defence.

The committee has no direct knowledge of the Zakoora incident and is unable to comment on it. But in the Tengpora incident, the allegation against the Army must fall flat since the charge has been sought to be

negatively substantiated — on the ground that the Army's statement about protecting a school bus was concocted since schools were not in session and there is no Army school near Tengpora. The school does exist and was in session. The Army escort had a manifest duty to protect the lives of the thirty-seven school children entrusted to its care, the Press Council's committee noted.

It seems that human rights organisations are more interested in defending the 'inhuman' rights of terrorists in unleashing a reign of terror than unfolding the miseries, wreaked upon the population in the Valley during the current spate of terrorism.

IX

The 'Inhuman' Rights . . .

The recurring hallucinations often blurred by the tear-brimming eyes keep haunting Usha Bazaz — a woman in her early thirties — who was widowed on March 26 in 1990. Her husband Ashok Kumar Bazaz, fell prey to the bullets of terrorists at Chattabal — a locality in downtown Srinagar city. He is survived by his widow and seven daughters.

She now lives in Jammu with a relative. The dreams of the parents of Ashok Kumar Bazaz too lie shattered The uncertainty coupled with the dark future is large over the faces of the young widow and her minor daughters. The youngest daughter of Bazaz — who saw her father off on the ill-fated day — still cherishes the fond hope that her Daddy would return home some day. She vividly recalls the last moments with her father and even identifies some people who had come to pick him up. The young widow recalls that none among her Muslim neighbours came even to console her. Next day her aged father-in-law air-dashed from Jammu to perform the cremation for which the police had made arrangements.

In another heart-rending case, the victim peeped through a second floor window of his house in the downtown's dense Chota Bazar locality to ascertain the mood of the day, when he spotted a gun-totting young man menacingly mocking at his naivety from the street below. The fateful date was March 19, 1990. The 36-year-old telecommunication

engineer Bal Krishan Ganjoo immediately shut all the doors and windows of his house.

The entire family was panic-stricken. Finding the main wooden door too strong to break, the armed young man sneaked into the compound, after breaking in from a wooden boundary partition between the houses of the victim and his neighbours. The terrorist broke the ground-floor window and went inside the house to be confronted by Ganjoo's wife who by now had persuaded her husband to conceal himself in a drum, used for storing rice. The gun-wielding young man was not taken in by her assertion that Ganjoo had already left for his office. He looked into every nook and corner of the house before going to the third-floor attic, usually used for dumping stocks. He opened the lid of the drum and pumped all the bullets into Ganjoo's body.

The killer had still some bile left. The wailing widow of Ganjoo begged of him to kill the other family members as their lives had little meaning now for them. "Who wil cry over his body, if I kill you?" said the terrorist triumphantly. He is survived by his widow and two daughters. He was married about three years ago. He had made attempts to flee from Kashmir Valley twice but was persuaded by the neighbours not to do so, However none of the 'benevolent' neighbours even came forward to console the family.

The same is the story of Ajay Kapoor, who was engaged in a wholesale business in the Maharajganj area of notorious downtown Srinagar till December 1, 1989. He was killed soon after he came out of his house at 10.30 a.m. There was so much scare that none could muster enough courage to lift the body: terrorists had declared that whosoever would remove the bodies of their prey, would do so at his own risk and peril responsibility. The body was removed two hours after the merciless killing. He is survived by his widow, two sons and a daughter who out of fear left the city and settled in Jammu.

Naveen Kumar Sapru, was killed on his way back from his official duty, in the same way on February 27, 1990. He was employed as a telecom inspector. Nobody — including the jawans of the Kashmir Armed Police standing nearby — came to his rescue. He is survived by his old mother, two sons and a widow.

Kamal Suri, owner of a provision store at Natipora, was gunned down

on March 14, 1990. He had been kidnapped a day earlier by five terrorists who were seen talking to one Ghulam Mohamad Shah who lived close to the house of the victim. According to the members of the victim's family, the deceased was first taken by the kidnappers to a palatial house at Nowgam where the terrorists had built up a big control room complete with electronic gadgets. The victim was released in the morning and taken away again and this time to be killed in the evening during the curfew hours. He is survived by his two brothers, mother and two sisters.

Shabir Ahmed Khan, a young man was killed in an exchange of fire between terrorists and the security forces at Lal Chowk on the evening of February 7 of the same year. In a moving letter, next day, to Dr. Mohammed Yusuf Khan — father of the victim — Jagmohan, Governor, wrote: "I am deeply shocked to learn of the tragic death of your son in the last evening incident near Lal Chowk. Your loss as well as the loss of your family and friends is indeed immeasurable. But ours is no less. We all share your grief.

"Believe me, I could not sleep last night. Such was the imprint of tragedy on my mind. Human dimensions of the incident should haunt all sensitive souls. It is not the blood of the individual alone but all of it that flows in us — the blood of our brothers and sisters, our sons and daughters. It is the blood that would stain the fair name of Kashmir. It would congeal and leave an ugly mark on the inner as well as outer landscape of the beautiful Valley.

"Let us pray to God Almighty to make us to see the path of peace and sanity. Let us create a situation in which no policeman is seen on the streets and they remain full of tourists and thrilling people. Let us impress once again on our young brothers to see the futility of the cult of the gun and understand the magnitude of all around misery that it has caused. Let us assure them that if they abandon the path of violence we would treat them with care and compassion. Let us remind them that our Constitution guarantees justice to all, and we would ensure that the same is given both in letter and in spirit.

"Let no more Shabirs die. Let no one feel the permanent loss of our near and dear one."

However, there is nobody to share these sentiments. There are only a few eyes who can see the tragedy striking the victims of terrorism.

There are few ears to respond to the sobs of the survivors of the victims.

A few days after this incident Tej Krishan Razdan — a Central Government employee posted in Punjab province — visited Srinagar on leave to meet his family. An old Muslim colleague of Razdan, still posted in Kashmir, paid a visit to his residence on the fateful day. Both of them boarded a Lal Chowk-bound mini-bus. When the mini-bus halted at Gao Kadal, Razdan's companion suddenly took out a pistol and shot him point blank. Not contended with this dastardly action a still-breathing Razdan was dragged out of the vehicle and the co-passengers were asked to kick the dying man repeatedly. The body was dragged through the street. Taken to a nearest mosque, the body was put on display for hours before the police came to take it away.

In another incident, a group of three terrorists accosted Ashok Kumar Qazi — a State Government employee — on Feb. 24, 1990 in Zaindar Mohalla when he was on his way to the market. He was shot at on the knuckles. He fell down and cried in agony for help. None among the passers-by or the shopkeepers responded. They just preferred to look the other way despite the fact that the victim — an energetic social worker of the area — was known to them. In their sadistic frenzy, the three murderers started dancing around the injured Qazi. His hair were pulled off. Terrorists slapped him continuously and spat on his face. One of them even unfastened his trousers and urinated on the face of Qazi. Terrorists enjoyed the writhing and twitching of the body of the dying victim. They wanted to kill him slowly. The siren of a distant police van, however, mercifully ended his agony as the panicky terrorists pumped bullets into his stomach and chest and left the body on the frozen road.

P.N. Kaul — a shopkeeper at Bijbihara in Anantanag district of the Valley — met a similar fate, but in a gorier manner. He was skinned off and left to die. His putrified body was discovered three days later. The incident took place on March 22, 1990.

Terrorists did not spare even Sarwanand Kaul 'Premi', a noted Kashmiri poet and his 27-year-old son who were killed on April 30, 1990 at Soaf Shali in Anantnag district. Though his family urged him to leave the village in view of the mounting terrorist activities an unabetted killings of his community members, the poet refused, believing in the 'secular traditions' of his beloved Kashmir. He was deeply religious as

well as liberal. He thought he was widely respected in the area predominated by Muslims. But his faith was ultimately shattered when on the evening of April 29, three terrorists entered his house and asked the inmates to put all the valuables in one room.

Packing them in an emptied suitcase, terrorists asked the frail and soft-spoken poet to carry the suitcase and follow them. "We mean no harm to him and he will return," the terrorists assurred the wailing relatives.

In the meantime, Virendra Premi, 27-year-old son of the poet, volunteered to accompany his father so that he could lead the old man back during the dark night. "Come on you too, if you so desire," said the terrorists. Both the father and son were herded out of the house.

When their bodies were found two days later, the scene was apalling and nauseating. The place in-between the two eyebrows, where Premi used to apply the sandalwood mark commonly known as 'tilak' was found pierced by an iron rod and the skin peeled off. The entire body bore the marks of cigarette burns. The limbs were found broken and the eyes of both father and son gouged out. They had also been shot and hanged to a tree. This happened to a man who had kept a rare manuscript of the holy Quran with reverence in his prayer room.

In another gruesome case on May 7, 1990, K.L. Ganjoo — a lecturer at the Agricultural College at Wadora near Sopore, in Baramulla district — was returning home along with his wife from Nepal, where he had gone to attend a conference. Two officials of the college had been sent to receive him at the airport. They turned out to be murderers. They dragged Ganjoo and his wife out of the vehicle, right in the middle of the bridge at Sopore. Ganjoo was shot at and was thrown in the Jhelum to die. A young nephew of the couple, who was also with them, was given a choice — either to jump into the river or watch what they intended to do with his aunt. The boy jumped into the river. He survived and managed to escape. The bullet-ridden body of Ganjoo was found a few days later from the bank of the river. Mrs. Ganjoo — a school teacher by profession — was gang-raped by terrorists and then killed in a gruesome manner.

The treatment, meted out to Chunni Lal Shalla — a Police Inspector — is testimony to the barbarity which terrorists can resort to. He was

posted at Langate near Kupwara. He was on his way to visit his family at Sopore after a lapse of six months. To avoid identification by the Jamaat-i-Islami terrorists, Shalla had sported a beard. A Muslim constable, working under him, also accompanied him in the same bus. On reaching Sopore, two terrorists came searching for Shalla but failed to recognise him. They had hardly left when the constable called them back and divulged the identity of the police inspector to them.

In the meantime, the constable himself took out a dagger and slashed off the entire right cheek along with the beard of Shalla. Blood gushed out and Shalla was in a state of shock. The constable jolted him by saying — "You pig. I will not allow you to sport Jamaat-i-Islami type beard on your other cheek also" — and slashed off his left cheek too. The two terrorists and the constable then battered the face of Shalla with hockey sticks shouting — "Bastard, we won't waste a bullet on you". Shalla was left to die.

The list is unending. It includes Professor Mushir-ul-Haq — the Vice-Chancellor of Kashmir University — who was abducted during the pious month of Ramzan. By this time, barring a handful of Hindus, the minority community had left the Valley. But the naked dance of killling continued. On June 24, 1991, three probationarya officers of the Life Insurance Corporation of India were abducted from a park. They were severely tortured and locked in a vacant house of a Hindu who had migrated from the Valley. The house was set on fire. Two of them died in the fire while the third one was rescued by the security forces and rushed to a hospital. On August 12 the same year, the body of Ram Moorli of Bangalore who was a clerk in the State Bank of India was found hanging in his hotel room. (See Annexure 6 and 7 for more details)

Asha Khosa reporting for the *Tribune* (Chandigarh) in its issue of Feb 2, 1993 stated: "Crimes against women by militants are multiplying each day. Forcible marriages have been reported from a number of places while a large number of Muslim families with grown up girls have had to migrate in view of matrimonial demands for their daughters at gun point.

"Grown-up sons of a prominent business family of Kashmir were sent away to Bombay to evade possible kidnappings for ransom by militants.

"Rapes by militants are too common. The security forces have recovered a number of girls who were either being kidnapped by militants or were being kept in confinement and raped repeatedly. For obvious reasons, the identity of such girls is being kept secret.

"The woes of women at the hands of militants was boldly echoed by a lady doctor of Pulwama. Dr.Rishi, a gynaeocologist whose doctor husband had been slain by militants last year. In an interview to a foreign television network, Dr. Rishi said militants had been forcing her and her husband to perform abortions on the young Kashmiri girls, whom they had raped. 'While we did a few cases, our conscience did not allow us to carry out this illegal and un-Islamic practice.' When the couple refused to carry out abortions, Dr. Rishi was shot dead.

"When the television crew asked Dr. Rishi whether she was not afraid of militants, she replied, 'What more I have to fear from them. They have everything to fear from me. I will expose them.'

"This reporter met a 13-year-old girl of Chanapora(Srinagar) who had become a mother after being sexually exploited by a local militant. When the shocked parents of the girl complained to a 'chief' of the outfit to which the said militant belonged, the mililtant was transferred to a remote Kupwara area as a punishment.

"Two months ago, residents of the plush Rajbagh locality were mute witness to a burqa clad girl being taken by a couple of gunmen to an abandoned house of a Kashmiri Pandit for 'interrogation'. The girl was 'interrogated' throughout the night while about twelve militants were with her. They were served food from a nearby house where a marriage party was on.

"Such 'interrogations' of 'mukhbirs' (informers) are too common. This reporter met three such women who had been saved from being killed by the timely intervention of some militant-related influential sections. All of them had been picked up from Srinagar's different areas and were related to each other. One of them had been made to drink a lot of water and then kicked in the stomach by her tormentors. The other one had burn marks all over her body inflicted with burning cigarette buts. The third one had cut marks on her breast. They were kept in a vacant migrant's house in Pulwama for three days.

"Recently at least five women were hanged to death in various parts

of Kashmir as a part of the militants' campaign to kill police 'informers'.

In its issue of Feb. 4, 1993 in *The Hindustan Times*, A.R.Wig reported from Srinagar, "The Border Security Force (BSF) during the past few months have recovered a number of young girls who were kidnapped from the lawful custody of their parents, criminally assaulted and then sold for handsome money. In some cases, armed militants even forcibly whisked away young women on the false pretext that they acted as informers for the security forces and then tortured them. The dividing line between their ideological commitment albeit misguided and proneness to criminality is becoming increasingly indistinguishable.

"This is the shocking story of 19-year-old Shahina of Handwara, who was rescued by the BSF. Narrating her nightmare she had undergone,Shahina with tears welling up in her eyes said that she was kidnapped, criminally assaulted and tortured by members of various outfits as she was suspected to have passed on information about the presence of two kidnappers of her younger brother in a house. The suspects were later arrested from the Jama Masjid area in Handwara.

"She sought the BSF help after the family learnt that the kidnappers had threatened to kill her brother. As soon as she returned home after the rescue of her brother , she was immediately threatened by the militants that they would kidnap her. Since she wanted to lead a peaceful life, the BSF unit helped her in getting a job in Ratna Rani hospital in Srinagar. But the fear of militants continued to haunt her.

"Everytime she noticed some unknown face in the hospital, she would get scared and thought she might again be kidnapped. As it happened while she was undergoing nursing training, one of the staff nurses identified her. Apprehending that this information might reach the militants, she left her job and went back to her house in Handwara.

"The next day, she was forcibly taken away by militant identified as Qayoom Beig, a member of the JKLF militant group as a punishment for informing the BSF and also securing a job in the nursing course. She was given a punishment of forty lashes.

"Feeling that the punishment was not enough, she was again kidnapped on the Id day in July 1992. This time the militants belonging to Ikhwan-ul-Musalmeen took her to a forest where she was kept for fourteen days. She was criminally assaulted by militant Nasir Ahmed Pir

and later produced before Dr. Hyder, leader of the militant outfit where she complained to the leader about the rape. She was let off with the advice not to contact the security forces or she would be killed. Shahina told Dr. Hyder that she would prefer death rather than being raped by the militants.

"According to her statement, before the BSF rescued her, she became pregnant. First she concealed the pregnancy but subsequently told the truth to her sister. With the help of her elder sister, Hamida, who was living in Sopore, she was taken for abortion by Dr. Ameena Matto of Sopore. She again returned to her sister's house in Handwara.

"In the following November Rashid Khan a known militant was killed by the security forces and she thought that again she was being suspected of passing on the information to the security forces about the presence of Rashid Khan, in the town. She was again forcibly taken by militants and kept in an abandoned house in Buttpora near Sapore. She was totally shocked when she saw a man identified as Altaf Hussain Nazar who had kidnapped her. She pleaded not to touch her but her pleadings failed to move him. She was again criminally assaulted for several days.

"While in the captivity of the militants, she was introduced to one Akil Ahmed and her captors wanted to sell her to him for Rs 40,000 for prostitution in Delhi. She said all through her detention she was pleading for her release but the kidnappers were unmoved. But one day while she was alone in the house, she managed to escape and rushed to the BSF unit. Since the BSF were not there in the camp, she was sent to a family of CRPF jawans.

"The BSF officers treated her as their own daughter and promised to get her a job. Shahina said that she would like to join the security forces so that she could get training and avenge the inhuman treatment meted out to her by the militants. She said that the so-called militants in fact were criminals outraging the modesty of young girls and killing innocent people.

"Sahina is not the only girl who went through this nightmare. A 12-year-old girl was kidnapped from Batala in Punjab by one Abdul Hamid who had links with militant groups in Kashmir and sold to a 60-year-old man of village Khor and subjected to criminal assault."

By mid-1991, the security forces launched a concerted operation to

flush out terrorists who had got themselves entrenched in the vacant houses of the migrants in Rainawari locality in downtown Srinagar. The locality had been transformed into a sort of fortress of various terrorist outfits. Some houses were used as watch-towers, some to store arms, some as residential quarters and some as field hostels to accomodate the visiting accomplices.

Following the recapture of this locality by the Army, it was handed over to the para-military forces for use as watch-towers and vigilance posts. The same exercise was also repeated in other localities by the security forces. Even camps were pitched in the compound of some of the vacant houses.

Meanwhile, sustained efforts of the security forces in containing the menace of terrorism and secessionism in the Valley yielded some positive results. This development restored the confidence of the migrants to some extent at Jammu and elsewhere in India to return to their homes, a number of whom had already been reduced to ashes by terrorists.

According to D. S. R. Sahni — General officer Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Command of the Indian Army — about three to four houses of migrants were being burnt everyday since the last quarter of 1991. He described such attempts as desperate ones at the hands of terrorists who were under the pressure of the security forces. However, a leader of the migrants claimed that the number of such incidents was certainly more than 5,000. Shyam Kaul — a veteran journalist from the region — said that more than 3,000 first information reports (FIRs) had already been lodged with the police in Jammu alone by the migrant victims in this regard.

Such incidents are not restricted to various localities in Srinagar city alone: houses and properties of the migrants in other towns and the countryside in particular have also not been spared by terrorists. According to Kaul, some persons have been explaining away this phenomenon by saying that terrorists feared that the security forces might occupy the vacant houses of Hindus for their anti-terrorist operations and, therefore, they would destroy them. But there are a large number of houses in remote villages that were also set ablaze, apparently for no reason except perhaps to deter the owners from returning to their homes. (See Annexure 8)

Even then, terrorists in Kashmir, enjoying patronage from Pakistan and unleashing a reign of terror on the innocent population in every possible manner, are being called as 'armed separatists' by the human rights organisations.

As for the functioning of the para millitary forces, one must bear in mind that they are discharging their duties in absolutely hostile conditions, where they are not sure about their life even for the next moment. The local administratioan is against them. The instances of the involvement of the local police and Intelligence with terrorists are not rare. Local politicians are out and out to denigrate and demoralize them. And the ISI is meticulously conducting the whole campaign against India, both from inside and outside the State, from the Pakistani soil and from the Capital of India where voices of dissent are not curbed on account of democratic traditions.

The method empolyed by the various terrorist outfits to hound out the minority community (Kashmiri Hindu Pandits) from the Valley did not follow a homogenous path. The heterogeneity of the devices used for driving out the aborigines from their native land bears the ISI stamp. It was so ingenious that one could not locate a systematic design behind it as that could bring discredit to 'Jehad' at the outset and its overtures would appear communal which was likely to invoke international condemnation, besides inviting an organised crackdown at the very inception of the movement for 'azadi'.

The fundamentalist forces had started raising their ugly faces long before January 1990 when Dr. Farooq resigned as the Chief Minister. Keshav Nath — a priest of the Vicharnag temple — was beaten to death by a police constable on December 9, 1988. Responding to a call-attention notice in the Assembly on this incident, the Chief Minister had stated: "The facts of the case are that on December 9 at 3.45 a.m. some residents of Vicharnag verbally reported at police station Soura that the body of one Keshav Nath, priest of the Vicharnag temple, is lying in the compound of the said temple under suspicious circumstances and they apprehended some foul play in that. On receipt of the information, the Station House Officer of police station Soura reached the spot and started proceedings under Section 174 Criminal Procedure Code (Cr. P. C.). He found the body of the priest lying in the compond of the temple with

some bruises. During the course of further proceedings it was learnt through the watchman of the temple, Beant Ram, that Constable Mohammad Yusuf No. 616/S, who was on huard duty at the temple, had pressed the priest to recite the Quran and when the latter refused to do so constable Mohammad Yusuf assaulted him with the rifle in his possession and beat him to death."

A number of reports of the Amnesty International and the Asia Watch besides some Indian organisations have 'documented the excesses of the Indian security forces' in tackling the situation in Kashmir. What they are trying to do is to focus exclusively on the State action against terrorism, masking the fact that State action cannot be treated as an isolated phenomenon of human rights violations in an atmosphere of continued terrorist violence. In fact, it is terrorist violence that ultimately determines the limits and extent of State action to contain it.

Terrorist violence per se is a violation of human rights. The resolution of the UN General Assembly on measures to prevent international terrorism, passed on December 9, 1985 followed by the Security Council resolution after nine days, inter alia stated:

"Unequvocally condemned as criminal, all acts, methods and practices of terrorism wherever and by whomever committed, including those who jeopardised the friendly relations between states."

The UN Declaration of Human Rights, too, does not involve only guarantee against the actions of the State. its scope is universal and the obligation of their protection is not limited to the authority of the State. Don't terrorists have any responsibility? Moreover, are human rights meant only to protect a few fundamentalists in Kashmir against the authority of the State? Don't they equally involve protection of other minorities against the extermination, persecuation and threat? Are they not to be allowed their traditional way of life or are they to be swept asunder by a religious crusade aiming for Islamisation?

Describing the inaudibility syndrome of human rights activists, in a detailed and in-depth analysis Harsh Sethi — a prominent human rights activist — wrote in the *Patriot*, an English daily, published from New Delhi: "The human rights groups 'bend over backwards' to prove their radicalism. And this radicalism seems to consist of a 'gleeful and malicious' State-bashing, of 'proving' that the law and order machinery

is not only excessively violent but is invariably biased against the minorities and the weak; that the social based of Hindu communalism has grown to alarming proportions; that terrorist violence is almost excusable in the face of 'State terrorism', and so on . . .

"That the dominant sections of the guardians of public discourse — the intelligensia and the media — too fall easy prey to these sentiments is predictable. Their willing complicity in a self-imposed censorship or a deliberate distortion (or worse, fabrication) of news only further strengthens the votaries of an authoritarian state . . .

"Few discerning observers of the Kashmir scene would contest that the handling of the Valley has been less than adroit, or that the perception of discrimination has led to a near complete 'alienation from India in the Valley'. But to be served with an analysis that minimises, if not ignores, the reality of Pakistan's involvement in the Valley, shows poor understanding of the impliations of the global resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism, that views terrorism only as a social response to State terrorism and is insensitive to its simultaneous autonomous roots, is to ask us to live in a world of make-believe. Any commentary that cannot squarely face up to the inability of the organised groups of terrorists in the Valley, be they the JKLF or the Allah Tigers, to retain the minuscule non-Muslims or nationalist minority in their ranks stands on shifty moral ground when accusing the State and society of being Hindu communal.

"It is somewhat difficult to sustain a hypothesis that the small minority of Kashmiri Pandits are a threat to the majority Muslim population in the Valley. If Kashmiriyat is what is finding expression, then why do we not have non-Muslims joining the struggle for independence?

". . . To take a parallel example, if groups are not seen as protesting equally vociferously against the brutal gunning down of innocent participants in the Ramnavmi procession in Batala in Punjab, then their concern for their favoured 'victims' appears fake. They cannot get away with responses such as, 'The newspapers did not print our statements' or that 'There are enough people doing that in any case. We have to speak on behalf of the others'.

"Rarely do the human rights groups realise the faith that this society had reposed in them. Unlike the official media, the politicians and the administration, the human rights groups were seen as courageous guar-

dians of public morality. It is this faith that had given them their power, quite out of proportion to their numbers. But if they too are to be seen as 'no different from the rest', then we are are indeed in for difficult times. Their pride in a belief that such reports create confidence in the victim groups and communities that at least someone cares, remains at best a partial argument.

"The purpose of a human rights report cannot be to merely contribute footnotes to history. It must, to be efficacious, communicate with wider sections in society so as to facilitate the emergence of a genuine public discourse on the issues that it contends with . . .

"If only the human rights groups could remember that before them Jayaprakash Narayan could set up a commission on Jammu & Kashmir and Nagaland, and never was he then accused of being anti-national, or that Mahatma Gandhi could find enough support for his insistence that money owed to Pakistan be repatriated, notwithstanding partition and the ensuing war, can they begin to define the terms under which a human rights discourse can be sustained in this society. Otherwise they must be resigned to a fate of inaudibility."

The human rights groups conveniently forget to recall information, furnished to the inquiry team of the Press Council of India by the Army authorities regarding action taken against the errant jawans in Kashmir. According to the Army authorities, as many as eleven Armymen, including a commanding officer of an unit, were awarded punishment in six court martials concerning the incidents in Kashmir Valley during 1990. Besides them, one officer and one junior commissioned officer (JCO) were awarded severe reprimand, affecting their promotion adversely on account of an incident in Petta Dialgam in Anantnag district on January 29, 1991.

In the incident, one Army column while moving was ambushed by the anti-national elements. During the ambush, the personnel of the J&K Armed Police (JKAP) travelling in the vehicle got involved in an exchange of fire with the anti-national elements, resulting in injury to two JKAP personnel one of whom later succumbed to injuries. The Army column is alleged to have subsequently carried out excesses against civilians during the search operations. A case was established against an officer and a summary court martial was ordered in the incident which

took place on April 11, 1990 at Srinagar in which Rs 5,100 was allegedly removed by one officer during the cordon and search operations. In this case, convening of the court martial was delayed due to the hospitalisation of the concerned officers.

In another incident at Srinagar, on June 2, the same year, Yusuf Jameel, the stringer for the BBC and several other foreign newspapers and news agencies and Haji Ghulam Mohammad Goru were apprehended, a severe structure was awarded to the three officers, including the comanding officer of the concerned unit. The implication of the punishment are 'entry made in the officer's dossier, officer not considered for promotion for three years and the career of the officer adversely affected.' (An intruder had disclosed to the Army team that following his return from across the border after training, he had been instructed to contact Yusuf Jameel and Zafar Meraj at Srinagar for further instructions. He had added that he had been told to meet a particular hawker on the Residency Road who in turn would direct him to the house of Yusuf Jameel and in case Jameel was not there , he would be sent to the house of Zafar Meraj. When the intruder approached Yusuf Jameel, he was being followed by the Army team. Initially Jameel refused to meet the visitor but when the intruder passed the code word, Jammel came out to receive him. The Army team in waiting, pounced on Jameel and whisked him away without taking the local police into confidence. Incidentally Zafar Meraj was away in Delhi on that day.)

In an incident in which the modesty of a woman had been outraged, at Panjgam in Srinagar district on June 9, the same year, a non-commissioned officer (NCO), one JCO and one jawan were found guilty in the court martial. The jawan was dismissed from service, the NCO was not only dismissed from service but was also awarded six months' rigorous imprisonment while severe reprimand was awarded to the JCO. The severe reprimand implied that the promotion of the JCO was adversely affected.

A Territorial Army officer was tried summarily and awarded severe reprimand, besides a year loss of seniority for promotion, in regard to an incident on May 16, 1990 at Srinagar in which a gold ring was removed from a jewellery box but was later returned during the cordon and search operations. The implication of the punishment included an entry made

in the officer's dossier and promotion adversely affected.

In yet another incident, Shameem Ahmed and Mohammad Ameen Kathwari — two anti-national elements — died in the Army detention cell. They had been apprehended during cordon and search operations on December 17 and 18, 1990 in Rainawari locality of Srinagar city but died in detention due to cumulative effects of extreme cold, inadequate administration and lack of medical attention during detention and use of excessive force during the interrogation. In this case an officer was served with a show-cause notice for administrative action. The severity of the administrative action can be as much as termination from service. A JCO was awarded displeasure.

An officer was awarded severe displeasure over an incident in which a convoy under an officer had been ambushed by the anti-national elements on December 23, 1990 at Tsaripur in Pulwama district and in the following exchange of fire six civilians had been killed.

Similarly, the Border Security Force (BSF), a para-military force, which is helping the local police in internal security punished, as many as thirty-four officials of different ranks on duty in J&K on account of over-reaction or indiscipline during the last three years (1990 to 92). Among them are twenty-seven personnel including twenty constables, three head constables, two naiks and three lance-naiks. Two constables were tried by the Security Forces courts (court martial) and dismissed from service. Three personnel including one constable, one lance-naik and a cook, were also tried by the General Security Force courts (court martial) for the offences such as rape.

Reacting to a report of the Asia Watch in May 1993, the spokesman of Government of India said, "Action was taken against 97 Army and para-military personnel, with 38 sentenced to imprisonment and ten dismissed from services since the outbreak of terrorism in the Valley."

The officers have already been given by the Army authorities a list of dos and donts while acting under the Armed Forces Special Power Act 1958 — in force in the disturbed Kashmir Valley these days.

Dealing with the subject of the alleged excesses by the Army and the security forces in Kashmir, the Verghese Committee of the Press Council of India in its lengthy report 'Crisis and Credibility' noted: "India is signatory to the Human Rights Charter, the International Covenant on

Civil and Political Rights and other Instruments which reinforce the Constitutional Bill of Rights and requirements of due process which the courts are there to uphold."

It also said that the country can boast of a large number of human rights organisations and activists who have been quick to bring any reported infringement of civil liberties to public notice.These bodies have been vigilant in monitoring emergency situations where distrubed conditions invoke the application of special laws. The media have given wide coverage to their observations while pursuing their own independent investigations as well.

Various phrases have been used in reporting some of these events, and it is important to be clear about their meaning. An 'excess' is something beyond permissible limits. It may be legal but not defensible, the excess being the result of a panic reaction or an error of judgement. An 'atrocity', on the other hand, suggests an act of extreme brutality with deliberate intent, thus rendering it illegal and beyond the pale of law.

'Genocide' and 'massacre' have been used interchangeably,among others, by millitant groups and by Pakistan, though they have different meanings. Genocide implies the delliberate eliminaation of nationality or ethnic group whereas massacre entails the extermination of any large number of people. Again, molestation (of a woman) connotes forceful sexual liberties short of intercourse, whereas rape specifically entails sexual intercourse with a woman against her will by threat or use of force.

Words are sometimes loosely and carelessly used. Strong disapproval, high emotion or political bias can result in the deliberate or sub-conscious choice of the harsher or more dramatic expression among related pairs of words. With usage, such expressions gain currency as generic terms. Terminological inexactitude may also be a product of translation, a common enough pitfall. A J&K policeman told the committee that the Urdu phrase 'tang karna' with reference to a woman could mean beating her, tearing or tugging at her clothes, nestling beside her,or even rape. That is indeed a wide spectrum of meanings. The word 'fauj' is commonly used for any uniformed personnel other than the police. Likewise 'jawan' or 'soldiers' and, sometimes 'Army' (i.e., 'fau'"). Simple villagers are unable to distinguish between uniforms, ranks and nomenclatures . . .

The prolonged round-the-clock curfew imposed on Srinagar in the early part of 1990 did cause considerable hardship. Para-militaray forces, hurriedly inducted into Kashmir from wherever they happened to be, were deployed with inadequate briefing. Lacking in local knowledge or police Intelligence, unfamiliar with the language and confronted with well armed but faceless militants able to strike and melt into an alienated populaltion — many security personnel were prone to regard themselves as part of an occupation force under seige and the entire population as 'enemies'. The inability to distinguish friend form foe in situations of high tension led to some unfortunate incidents during the early days. Overreaction on occasions resulted in excesses as the para-military forces were pitchforked into a role far beyond their charter. Intelligence gathering became a particularly vital and onerous task.

Many of the incidents involving the para-military forces were inquired into and action was taken as in the Anantnag bridal rape case (May 1990) and the burning down of a number of shops and houses in Handwara (October 1990). The case pertaining to the Mashali Mohalla incident in Srinagar (August 6, 1990) in which nine persons were killed, had almost concluded in June 1991.

An incident of firing took place at Khanyar in Srinagar on May 8, 1991 when a para-military patrol party was allegedly fired upon, around 6.15 p.m., near Pir Dastgir Sahib, where people had gathered for the burial of three persons killed in an exchange of fire with militants sometime earlier. According to the police report issued the next day: "the security forces returned the fire coming from various directions, resulting in eleven fatal casualties and injuries to forty-three others. A criminal case has been registered in connection with the firing incident and a high-level inquiry by an Additional Chief Secretary to the Government of J&K has been ordered and further follow-up action will be taken on receipt of the report of the high-level inquiry. In the meantime, three security personnel have been placed under suspension pending inquiry into their conduct." The official release was reasonably prompt and 'excess' was straightaway admitted. Although there was alleged provocation of militant firing, the return fire was considered excessive as one SF personnel fired sixteen rounds and the other thirteen. Some papers reported fifty killed in the firing with many more injured. Admit-

tedly nine died immediately and two or three of the injured succumbed to injuries later.

The police cite this as an example of unverified reports of the numbers killed, serving the militant propaganda. In early 1990 when a certain incident that stirred great excitement was alleged in Srinagar, the Governor, Jagmohan, issued a public notice asking for the names of those killed so that compensation migh be paid to the bereaved families. There was no response. The alleged deaths were concoctions.

The terms of reference of the Khanyar inquiry include 'determination of the sequence of events that led to the use of force, identification of any act of omission or commission that may have contributed towards escalation of the situation, determination of whether the firing undertaken in the situation was justified or necessary. If not, recommendation for action against the persons who may be at fault.' The inquiry was to be completed within a month.

There has been some criticism that the credibility of the inquiry might be undermined because of the choice of the conducting officer. Be this as it may, the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen called for a boycott of the official inquiry which amounted to a threat that will surely impede independent witnesses coming forward and has in fact delayed its completion. Meanwhile, a parallel inquiry was announced by Mufti Bahauddin Farooqi — former Chief Justice of the J&K High Court — which, he says, was demanded by independent citizens, as the notification issued by the official inquiry officer inviting witnesses to file statements 'showed bias'. The parallel one-man inquiry was conducted by Mufti Bahauddin Farooqi himself under the auspices of the J&K People's Basic Rights Protection Committee, which he heads. It was released on June 25, 1990. It indicts the securityforces for indiscriminate and unprovoked firing resulting in sixteen deaths and fifty-nine injuries.

Another incident, which aroused a great deal of indignation, took place on June 11, 1991. Twenty-two persons were killed and fifteen injured when, according to police reports, militants fired on the security personnel, changing guard at Chota Bazar, in downtown Srinagar. Earlier, a group of militants had fired on a security patrol killing one jawan and injuring three others. Two persons were killed when the security forces returned fire. Militants, however, allege that the Chota Bazar

firing was a revenge killing by security forces personnel in retaliation for the ambush of their comrades at Zaina Kadal. An official inquiry is under way. Mufti Bahauddin Farooqi,too, proposes another citizen's inquiry . . .

In case of excesses in the course of duty, the CRPF and BSF hold departmental inquiries and take action on the findings. But where the action of any member of the security forces is indefensible in terms of going beyond the law, the case is handed over to the police and magistracy for prosecution. Rape and molestation cases are also put in court.

Official sources have little doubt that it is part of the militants' strategy to trap the security forces in difficult situations, such as in congested localities, and attempt to provoke extreme reactions. It helps the militant cause if innocent persons, especially women, children, the sick and aged, are caught in the crossfire. This fans anger and alienation. Official sources allege that militants do commit arson when cornered and blame the resultant loss of homes, commercial establishments and other property on the ruthlessness of the security forces. On the other hand, the security forces have been charged with deliberate incendiarism to overawe the people. It has been alleged that jawans have been seen to spread inflammable powder on houses and shops or sprinkle petrol (carried in their helmets), set the premises afire and then prevent fire tenders form putting out the conflagration. The security forces vehemently deny this. They say that everybody stacks hay in their lofts and wooden structures that easily catch fire, sometimes as a result of the use of grenades, crude bombs and other explosive material in the course of encounters. It is claimed that some militants apprehended in Anantnag in November 1990, after an armed encounter actualy confessed to committing arson. However, cases of arson have been registered by the police against the security forces.

It is widely believed that the phrase 'killed in cross-firing' is used as a cover for panic reactions, blind firing (especially when mililtant attackers disappear into narrow alleys where pursuit is extremely difficult and dangerous), and for deliberate revenge killings.

Some Cautionary Tales

The militants' version of righteous innocence is open to suspicion. This is evident from their own statements as reported by the Srinagar Press which is under severe pressure from them.

Aftab, a local Urdu daily, reported on March 10 that a youth hurled a grenade on a para-military truck near Budshah Chowk (Srinagar) the previous afternoon. Several para-military personnel were reported injured and one possibly killed. Four women were injured in the grenade explosion. Earlier, there was an exchange of fire between militant youth and the security forces at Narwara and Safa Kadal. Several persons were injured in the cross-firing.

Later, on March 13, 1991, the *Aftab* quoted a Press statement issued by a militant organisation, the *Al-Inqilab*. This said that a meeting held under the chairmanship of its chief commander had decided that 'armed militant actions will now take place in such a way as to cause more damage to the security forces than to the common people.' That certainly is a frank admission of militant attacks causing innocent civilian casualities.

The *Zamindar* on March 12, 1991 reported a meeting presided over by the commander-in-chief of the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen: "The meeting expressed concern over the matter that several paper korganisations and so-called organisations which do not exist in reality, at the behest of Central Intelligence agencies, harass gentle, respected and innocent people of the State."

Perhaps even more revealing is a report carried by the *Aftab* on March 10, 1991 on an 'important meeting' of comnmanders of the J&K Al-Umar Mujahideen. A statement of the chief commander was read out. It called on the mujahideen to fight valiantly against the security forces 'as their cruelty has reached its climax and they are daily killing people and describing them as terrorists and these incidents as cross-firing'. The report continued: "To avoid civilian loss, care should be taken of the surroundings. Khalid Shamaz later thanked the people of Batmaloo because the action undertaken on March 1 was not a planned one. The mujahids of the Al-Umar and other organisations were forced to undertake this action when the chief commander and some active workers of an organisation were encircled by the security forces. Mujahids fired on

the security forces from all sides and forced them to run away. The encircled mujahideen succeeded in coming out of the cordon. Two civilians were martyred by the security forces". The phrase 'planned action' is interesting. It clearly shows that large numbers of sympathisers are to be found among the 'civilian' population who are either required to carry out certain supportive functions or get out of the line of fire on receipt of prior warning. Cordon and search operations by the security forces are therefore not all that mindless.

Perhaps the provocation or opportunity for such sneak, hit-and-run tactics in bazaars, crowded mohallas and busy thoroughfares could be minimised, though not eliminated, through a careful thinning down of possible redeployment of static security posts and bunkers which offer inviting targets. The committee was told by citizens that a picket formerly posted in the heart of Srinagar — Lal Chowk — was recently withdrawn to everybody's relief and that nothing terribly untoward has happened since, though there was an incident iln the area subsequently. The alternative might be to post mobile patrols. In any event, the matter would seem worthy of periodic review, though there may be two views on anything approaching total withdrawal from certain areas.

Efforts are being made continuously to brief all personnel and impress upon them the need to keep their cool and act with restraint whatever be the provocation. Even critics admit that things have by and large improved. Organised raids and crackdowns entailing cordon and search operations are led by officers but difficult situations can arise sometimes when the security forces personnel give chase after an ambush. The CRPF has inducted a Mahila Police battalion to deal with women, especially when houses are to be searched for militants or weapons, and protesting women have to be prevented from obstructing these procedures. In their absence, charges of molestation and rape were frequently made; possibly less so now. Some cases of rape have been registered and action has been taken against those found guilty.

Compensation is given to victims of excesses. In case of death the family of a crossfire victim may get a compensation of Rs.1 lakh, while those whose houses or shops have been burnt are entitled to relief in the form of GI sheets and timber as well as cash compensation.

Militants have alleged attacks on or harassment of hospitals and

medical personnel, and the Asia Watch, has cited such violations brought to its notice as a breach of 'medical neutrality' by the security forces. The *Srinagar Times* of July 31, 1990, reported the large-scale killing of so-called informers by various militant groups 'because they were receiving huge sums while providing information about militant activity.' Some months later, on December 12, 1990 *Aftab* a local Urdu daily, reported an incident at the Soura Medical Institute, Srinagar: "According to reports, some unidentified militants entered the emergency ward and tried to kill an alleged informer, Bashir Ahmed, who was admitted in the hospital a day earlier after being shot by militants at Bemina. He was immediately rushed to Soura Hospital where he was fired upon. this was followed by firing by the police personnel on duty. According to the report, these excesses by the security forces prompted the doctors and other para-medical staff to go on strike, resulting in disruption of the normal functioning of the institute." Apparently two doctors and a nurse were injured when the security personnel opened fire to prevent Bashir Ahmed from being murdered. This is certainly an outrageous violation of 'medical neutrality'. But by whom?

The Asia Watch itself cites the case of Sarla Bhatt — a staff nurse (Kashmiri Pandit) at the Sher-i-Kashmir Institute of Medical Science in Soura, Srinagar — who was shot dead on April 18, 1990. Her body was found in Lal Bazaar with a note in which the JKLF claimed responsibility. She was accused of informing the police that a number of militants were hiding in the institute. Four days prior to the killilngs, Sarla Bhatt had been kidnapped from the nurses' hostel by unidentified men and the post mortem report concluded that she had been raped before she was killed.

Other allegations refer to harassment and beating up of children by security personnel. The daily report issued on May 17, 1991 by the J&K Police headquarters, Srinagar, refers to a patrol party stopping a passenger bus near Chowgam in Anantnag district on May 16. Armed militants in the bus opened fire. In the ensuing encounter two militants were killed, one was ilnjured and two apprehended. All belonged to the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen. On a search of the passengers, a small boy was found concealing some grenades and ammunition kept by the militants with him. Altogether five AK-47s with six magazines and two hand

grenades were recovered. Not an innocent catch, although an innocent face was used . . .

Psychological War

The situation in the State today is a blend of low-level proxy war — insurgency and terrorism conducted against a background of alienation, political propaganda — and Pakistan is trying to restore the long simmering Kashmir question. It has been unable to do so by reiterating its claims for self-determination and bygone UN resolutions — long overtaken by events, primarily stemming from its own repeated default. For the third time it has trained and sent in armed infiltrators and provided them support and sanctuary in desperate bid to stir the pot and either bring about a collapse in Kashmir or compel international intervention.

Psychological war is a vital instrument in such a campaign and is aimed to confuse, demoralise and divide the opponent and consolidate and extend one's own support among a alienated population, which in turn is likely to be further embittered by tales of excesses and atrocities. The power of proxy in Kashmir is manifested in the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen and other Jamaat or fundamentalist-oriented militant organisations. They want accession to Pakistan and are wary of and even antagonistic towards the JKLF. Gun battles have broken out among JKLF and Hizb-ul-Mujahideen groups from time to time. In one such demonstration in Srinagar on May 8, 1991, a JKLF procession chanted anti-Pakistan slogans and burnt an effigy of the Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Earlier on April 5, the JKLF had banned the use of the Pakistani flag and Pakistan PM's photograph and described 'Azad Kashmir' as Occupied Kashmir . . .

In all this, the human rights aspect has received considerable attention. The Kashmiri-American Council in Washington and the International Institute of Kashmir Studies, London, have been active lobbyists and bring out a monthly *Kashmir Report*, which reproduces material abouta or emanating from Kashmir. Ghulam Nabi Fai — Executive Director of the Kashmiri-American Council — has been communicating with members of the US Congress, the Asia Watch and United Nations officials with his 'hot line from Pak-occupied Kashmir'. There has also been an effort to publicise the alleged movement of 15,000 and more

Kashmiri refugees into PoK and to link this with the UN resolution on the Kurdish refugees. Ahmed Rashid reported from Atmuquam in PoK in *The Independent* of June 6, 1991: "Refugees from Indian Kashmir said they fled because Indian troops raped their women, arrested and tortured their male children and desecrated mosques." Indian sources have no information of any Kashmiri exodus to PoK. Such reports in all probability are aimed as a cover for exfiltrators and seem nothing more than propaganda ploy.

Human Rights Caution

The Verghese Committee said: "Human rights organisations in India and abroad have reported on Kashmir from time to time in addition to the international Press. Human rights groups have a constituency and in the usualmanner of adversarial reporting exhibit a perfectly understandable bias against the establishment and in favour of the alleged victims who are seen as the underdog. Human Rights groups,however, need to be more investigative and check all sides more carefully before they come to firm conclusions which they then proceed to publicise. . ."

The Asia Watch in its May 1991 report, *Kashmir Under Siege*, makes the cardinal error of equating a legitimate, sovereign Government with faceless terrorists and armed infiltrators guided by their mentors across the border. Insurgency or civil disorder confers no right on any Government to kill indiscriminately. But the Indian armed forces and paramilitary formations are bound by the laws under which they operate — the Constitution, and the jurisdiction of courts. There have admittedly been errors and excesses which cannot be condoned. Action has been taken and the guilty punished in a number of cases and so there is no justification for the belief that the Government of India or Army/security forces commanders have turned a blind eye towards gross misconduct or excesses by persons under their charge. There certainly is no absolute warrant for the US Congress to advise the US Administration that the training America provides to Indian's armed froces must stress adherence to internationally recognised standards of human rights. One fails to understand that which training is being referred to. This is a gratuitous insult by a Congress that irresponsibly supplied the arms that were diverted by Pakistan from Afghanistan to terrorists in Punjab and

Kashmir who in turn have been responisble for brutal killings on an unprecedented scale.

Human rights violations are bad. Even one extra-judicial killings or a single rape is one too many. Yet any judgement on these matters, which are more a product of human failure or frailty and emotional stress rather than of deliberate State policy or connivance, should be seen in the context of the scale, spread and intensity of terrorist/insurgency operations and official responses, the number of the security forces deployed and the number of incidents that might on investigation be reasonably listed as human rights violations. This is not to extenuate abuses, but to ensure a sense of proportion . . .

Indian human rights activists and organisations must continue their watchdog role in Kashmir and elsewhere. But they need to be more cautious about publicising their findings until they have given a reasonable opportunity to the other side to state or explain its case. It is not axiomatic that the Government or its agencies are necessarily wrong or prevaricate and that 'the others' say-so' represents the actual or the only truth. The militant groups in Kashmir are fighting for a 'cause'. For some it is a 'jehad' with matryrdom awaiting those who lose their lives. Some of them are highly motivated. And they have two weapons — guns and propaganda. With the gun they threaten the physical existence of their opponents, while with the latter they aim at the minds of men, locally, nationally and internationally. Human rights groups, well intentioned though they are, must be allive to the fact that they too can work with a little caution. And none should fear to loose a constituency if that is implied in balanced reporting.

Violations By Militants

The kidnapping of some Israeli tourists and the slaying of one of them in Srinagar towards the end of June 1991 and the earlier kidnapping of two Swedish engineers working on a hydel project in Kashmir, both with the object of forcing international political and human rights intervention on their behalf is, like hijacking, utterly wrong. For militant groups to indulge in major human rights violations against third parties in the name of focussing attention on human rights is grotesque. Innocent people like Maulana Masoodi, the 87 year old veteran freedom fighter; Maulvi

Farooq, the Mirwaiz; Mushir-ul-Haq, Vice-Chancellor of Kashmir University; H. L. Khera, General Manager, HMT; Mohd Shaban, Editor of *Al Safa*; Lassa Kaul; Mir Mustafa; P. N. Handoo and Syed Ghulam Nabi, two senior officers of the State Information Department; and many other distinguished citizens have been brutally murdered. In June 1991, two LIC probationary officers were burnt alive in a deserted Kashmiri Pandit's house in Srinagar. Rubayya Sayeed and Nahida Imtiaz Soz were two young women among the many innocent persons kidnapped.

These are (also) grave human rights violations. Over one lakh persons have had to migrate from Kashmir — first Pandits, then other Hindus, then other non-Muslims. They have taken refuge in Jammu, Delhi and elsewhere in northern India. Whatever may be said about the causes of the early exodus, many have obviously left in genuine fear or in the face of economic ruin. This is another human tragedy brought on the State by the militants . . .

Reporting Human Rights

The Press provides much of the raw material for human rights organisations both within the country and abroad, both directly through its own reports and comments and indirectly by feeding the international media. Newpersons, therefore, have a double responsibility to ensure that they verify their facts as carefully as possible, present both sides, and avoid sensationalising events, especially when describing grey areas. Headlining and display,too, should be restrained in all such situations as emotion often feeds on itself. The Press in Kashmir as is their wont, give large, bold headlines to all stories in the style of a tabloid. It needs to review its own norms and style, including display . . .

Newspapers can go wrong in the best of circumstances. But credibility and true Press freesom in terms of the people's right to know is only upheld if corrections are carried out or the right of reply is conceded within legitimate bounds. It is the lament of the Army PRO at Srinagar that a number of rejoinders issued by him, whether directly to newspapers and news agencies or through the State Information Department have not been used.

However, the severe indictment of the human right groups under various covers by the Verghese Committee has failed to dampen the

'spirit' of such activists. They continue in their biased tirade against the security forces. Army and the Government of India. One such group — the Co-ordination Committee, constituted in September '90 — in its sixth report, which was released to the Press in November 1992, listed a number of unsubstantiated or scantily substantiated excesses or atrocities at the hands of the security forces. The team, sent by the committee relied solely on the alleged victims and subverters. It once again preferred to condone the reign of terror, unleashed by terrorists.

In its unabashed remark, it even went to state: "We learnt that Syed Ghulam Nabi (Joint Director of the Information Department of the State, who was brutally killed by terrorists in September 1992) was held responsible for causing canard on militant leaders, publicised thorugh his department and that his daugahter was admitted to the MBBS medical course out of turn in the category of 'efficient combators of terrorism'. This was reason enough for his beheading..." The team of the committee seemed to be unaware of the fact that it is the discretionary quota of the head of the Government (Governor since the imposition of the President's Rule over the State). The well-wishers of the team perhaps did not tell the team members that a few years ago, Syed Ali Shah Geelani — a prominent fundamentalist leader — had succeeded in securing the favours from the then Chief Minister Dr. Farooq Abdullah, in getting admission for his son under the same quota. Would the Co-ordination Committee or other human rights groups or terrorists recommend the same 'punishment' for Gilani? Moreover, Nabi was shot dead, not beheaded.

X

The Valley of Oddity

Kashmir has a number of peculiar institutions. One of them is the office of Mirwaiz — which literally means head-sermoniser. It is essentially a Kashmiri concept. Nowhere else in the Islamic world does this institution exist nor does it wield so much clout. It is claimed that the institution is six hundred years old and was established soon after the Muslim rule in the Valley. However, it is not discussed at all in Sir Walter Lawrence's classic *The Vale of Kashmir* published in 1895.

The Mirwaiz is a religious leader, who also holds a position in the community, which may be described as, in a significant respect, political. The office is hereditary but there would seem to be an appointive element in that the holder is in some manner confirmed by the Government.

The present Mirwaiz — Umar Farooq — was appointed at the tender age of seventeen following the assassination of his father Maulvi Mirwaiz Mohammad Farooq in May 1990, at the hands of terrorists owing allegiance to the Jamaat-i-Islami. He claims to be the twelfth in the six-hundred-year-long lineage of the Mirwaiz.

In 1905, the then religious leader of Muslims of the Valley, the Mirwaiz of Kashmir — Maulvi Rasool Shah — founded in Srinagar an association — the Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam — with the object of improving the lot of Kashmiri Muslims, especially in education, while at the same time ensuring the spread of pure Islamic doctrine. The An-

juman was not particularly effective but it established a very important precedent which others could and did exploit. In 1920s it was dominated by the Kashmiri Muslim religious leader of the day, the Mirwaiz-i-Kashmir, Maulvi Ahmad Ullah Shah.

At that time, another Muslim religious leader was Mirwaiz Hamadani of the Khanqah-i-Mualla (the shrine sacred to the memory of Mir Syed Ali Hamadani, the saint who had done much to spread Islam in the Valley in the 14th century). He and Maulvi Ahmed Ullah Shah used to be at loggerheads as both used to lay claim to the title of Mirwaiz of Kashmir.

While the Khilafat Movement from 1919 onwards began to play a role in the Muslim nationalist agitation in India, it had little impact in Kashmir. Mirwaiz Ahmad Ullah Shah opposed the movement. He also advised the Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir to arrest the leaders of the agitation in the State.

Mohammad Yusuf Shah succeeded his uncle in March 1931 as the Mirwaiz-i-Kashmir. By that time, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah — a young schoolmaster with a post-graduate degree in Chemistry from Aligarh Muslim University — started emerging on the political scene. In the beginning he was a protége of Maulvi Yusuf Shah. Both of them served terms in the Maharaja's prisons. In 1932, both of them in tandem with some other youngsters, established the All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference, which became the main platform for opposition to the Maharaja. Soon after, they fell apart and the Muslim Conference faced internal discord.

By the middle of 1932 there developed an active, and at times, violent, political rivalry in Muslim ranks in Srinagar between bands of supporters of Sheikh Abdullah, the Shers or 'Lions' (after Sheikh Abdullah, who used to be referred to by his admirers as the 'Lion of Kashmir'), on the one hand and the followers of Mirwaiz Mohammad Yusuf Shah, the Bakras or 'Goats' (after the beards sported by Islamic clergy), on the other.

In 1939, the Muslim Conference was formally dissolved. It was replaced by the Jammu & Kashmir National Conference, which was a body far more concerned with social and political issues, such as land reform, than with matters of Islamic theology. In 1941, Maulvi Yusuf Shah with other fundamentalists revived the Muslim Conference. In

1946, Sheikh Abdullah's National Conference launched the 'Quit Kashmir' movement. Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah opposed it. He supported the Government calling the Maharaja a shadow of God on earth.

Later, with the accession of Jammu & Kashmir to India, Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah fled to Pak-occupied Kashmir (Azad Kashmir). He was appointed Education Minister though English was Latin to him. Later, he rose to become the third President of Azad Kashmir.

In Kashmir, Maulvi Atiqullah, a protége of Sheikh Abdullah, was appointed as the Mirwaiz. He was the uncle of Maulvi Yusuf Shah. In 1962, Mohammad Farooq was appointed at the age of eighteen as the Mirwaiz by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad — the then Prime Minister of J&K — following the death of his uncle Maulvi Yusuf Shah in the PoK.

The crisis over the theft of the Moe-i-Muqaddas made the young Mirwaiz Farooq a rallying point in Muslim politics in Srinagar. The old feud between the families of Mirwaiz and the Sheikh continued. The young Mirwaiz Farooq, highly ambitious, did not look backward . He was arrested on October 10, 1965 when he became vocal in support of plebiscite in Kashmir.

However, his support to one leader or the other, one political group or the other fluctuated from time to time. At one time, he was in the forefront of an agitation for the release of the Sheikh. At another he was opposing the Sheikh's accord with Indira Gandhi and accused the former of selling Kashmir for the sake of power. In 1977, Mirwaiz Farooq entered into an alliance with the Janata Party. In fact, his base was continuously eroding which he compensated by a high profile public relations exercise. He was successful in his campaign and became one of the most sought after politician-cum-religious leaders by the visiting Indian newsmen.

In between, he had entered into an alliance with Dr.Farooq Abdullah who inherited power from his father Sheikh Abdullah. The accord, which was a brief one, came to be known as Double-Farooq Accord. He used to wield considerable political and administrative clout.

In February 1986, the Union Government asked the State to register a case against Maulvi Farooq for violation of the Foreign Contribution Regulation Act, 1986. The Chief Prosecuting Officer, Srinagar, advised that the case be registered as it was a fit case for prosecution. Accord-

ingly, a first information report was registered at the Khanyar police station on July 30, the same year. It took about two-and-a-half years to complete the investigation, though it was quite simple as most of the documentary evidence had to be relied upon. However, even after the completion of the investigation and the finding of the investigating officer that the 'case stood proved' no prosecution was launched and no further action was taken. The last note on the file merely recorded that 'higher authorities had to be kept posted'.

The Mirwaiz, who claimed to be the only religious leader of Kashmiri Muslims, sent his son and daughter to schools run by Christian missionaries, while himself advocated the teaching in 'Madarsas' for Muslims. Once, when this was pointed out, he retorted: "I am a modern Maulvi.I teach Quran and other religious books to my son and daughter at home but do not want to deprive them of modern education." However, he did not care for the extension of this modern education to other sons and daughters of other Muslims in the State.

Every Friday, after noon prayers, he used to deliver 'khutba' — a discourse on current religious and political happenings. He used to breathe brimstone and fire in his discourses but the note in Urdu for the local Press used to be a diluted one, while the tone of the Press note in English, meant for the national wire agencies and the correspondents of national dailies, used to be further diluted in a bid to retain the soft attitude of the Government of India.

Even Qazi Nisar Ahmed of Anantnag in the Valley claims himself as the Mirwaiz of Southern Kashmir. This is an institution which started with Qazi Nisar. However, with the ascendency of the fundamentalist Muslim leadership of the Jamaat-i-Islami,the hold of Mirwaizs over the people is waning.

No wonder, Maulvi Mohammed Farooq was assassinated at the hands of Muslim fundamentalists who suspected his bona-fides.

Though a particular community and residents of a region cannot be generalised as far as the traits in their character are concerned, Kashmiris by and large, are fond of mongering gossip, exaggeration and sychophancy. A typical example of this trait is the river boat procession.

In 1945, when Jawaharlal Nehru along with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad attended the session of the Nation-

al Conference at Sopore at the invitation of Sheikh Abdullah, they were taken out in a river boat procession, traditional to Srinagar ceremonials. Nehru's daughter Indira Gandhi had also accompanied the Congress leaders.

The colourful procession starts from upstream Jhelum, near the State Guest House. Hundreds of decorated 'shikaras' (Kashmiri boats) are collected for seating the chief guest and other accompanying leaders, forming into rows along and across the stream. The procession goes down the river through the many bridges en route. Standing on the banks of the river and from the windows of the houses, people lustily cheer and greet their guests. Huge 'doonga' boats and carrier boats are anchored midstream with decorative arches raised thereupon throughout the length of the river in the capital city. People are also arranged to shower flowers on the guests from the bridges.

Following the Sheikh-Indira Gandhi accord in 1975, which saw the return of Sheikh Abdullah to power, Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India made a State visit to Srinagar. Accompanied by her two sons — Rajiv and Sanjay and their wives — she was treated to a traditional boat procession through the Jhelum river. Also giving them company were Sheikh Abdullah and Governor L. K. Jha, and their spouses. The gaudily-painted boat in which Indira Gandhi was seated, was propelled majestically by thirty-two red-turbaned oarsmen. The lined-up spectators shouted slogans praising her as a worthy daughter of Kashmir.

A similar welcome had earlier been given to Bulganin and Khrushchev — Soviet leaders — during their visit to Srinagar in 1955. Soon after the 1983 Assembly elections in which Dr. Farooq emerged victorious, a grand river boat procession meandered along the Jhelum in the summer capital city to mark the occasion.

Even Morarji Desai, who became the Prime Minister of India following the victory of the Janata Party in 1977 Lok Sabha elections, was enamoured by a welcome at the residence of Maulvi Mirwaiz Farooq, during his visit to the State in connection with the approaching Assembly elections. A good number of women sang welcome songs in his honour. One of the songs in Kashmiri said: "The Ghazi (victor) from Pakistan is welcome." It seems that none explained the meaning of the song to Desai

who anyway did not believe in nonsense.

In tune with their typical character, Kashmiri leaders speak the same thing in three different manners. One is for the local audience where the Centre (Govt. of India) is the whipping boy for each and every ill afflicting the State. As soon as leaders cross the Banihal Pass to enter the Jammu region, the Centre-bashing becomes subtle while in New Delhi the same leaders do not lag behind each other in praising the Central and Congress leaders.

Commenting on the politics of deception and duplicity, Jagmohan said, "To the flaws that were inbuilt in the soft and permissive attitude were added the flaws inherent in the politics of duplicity and deception which became a characteristic feature of the Jammu & Kashmir scene. Around every basic principle, insincerity and inconsistency were woven. Whether it is the issue of secularism, autonomy or democracy, different postures could be adopted at different times or at different places by the same leader. Of Sheikh Abdullah, for instance, it was said that he could be 'a Communalist in Kashmir, a Communist in Jammu and a nationalist in New Delhi."

"Most of the Kashmiri politicians were adept in speaking with two voices. They could be secular as well as communal, democratic as well as dictatorial, accessionist as well as pro-Pakistan. The underlying motivation was not principles but power — power for the person and for the coterie around. If the Central leaders allowed the Kashmiri leaders to rule the State in whatever manner they liked, whether or not it was in the interest of the country as a whole or even in the interest of the State, they swore by principles of democracy, socialism and secularism, and accession to India was declared as final. If, on the other hand, any question was raised in regard to the exercise of authority, or any personal ambition was checked, accession became temporary and issues of autonomy, or identity and of the personality of Kashmir were raised, and communal feelings aroused."

Following leaders such as Sheikh Abdullah, who benefited by exploiting religion for political purposes, terrorist outfits, particularly those which were extension of the fundamentalist platforms, launched a crusade for veiling Muslim women in the Valley as early as June 1989. In a sense, it was the beginning of the current phase of terrorism in the Valley.

A call by the 'Hizb-i-Islami' — an underground fundamentalist outfit of terrorists — to the Muslim womenfolk in the Valley to wear veils or face dire consequences achieved what a sustained spate of bomb blasts could not.

The women were asked to move about with their heads covered in accordance with the Islamic code. They were also forbidden from viewing televisions and going to cinema halls. They were forewarned that defiance of the 'Islamic code' would entail punishment. Simultaneously, Hindu women were asked to wear 'tika' on their foreheads to prove their identity.

Muslim women in rural areas of the Valley — constituting the major component of agricultural labour — do not have any tradition of 'purdah' which has also gradually disappeared in urban areas with the spread of education and liberalisation.

No wonder then that, even after three years of the first attempt to veil Muslim women by force, the movement has failed to register much progress. The acrimonious debate among the various terrorist outfits has surfaced in Srinagar newspapers. In a full page paid advertisement in Srinagar papers on June 27, 1992, the Dukhtaran-i-Millat (a banned fundamentalist women terrorist outfit) asked Kashmiri Muslim women to observe the Islamic code of conduct. Muslim women were asked to (1) Use Makina (an Iranian dress) to cover their heads and bodies; (2) Abstain strictly from plucking eyebrows; (3) Not to use any make-up on their faces; (4) Not to use nail polish and (5) Not to exhibit any ornament or jewellery. The same day, *Afaq* — another Srinagar newspaper — carried a statement, issued by the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, which stated:

"It extended its support to the movement of purdah only to the motivational extent. There should be no compulsion or coercion in it, as Allah Tigers, Dukhtaran-i-Millat or any other militant organisation do not enjoy the right of imposing Islam, but can only motivate people towards Islam. We believe that as women are advised to use the Islamic dress laid down by Sharia, men, too, should be motivated to use such a dress. Brashness or immodesty is not only one way traffic. It would look odd that women would be in 'burqa' and men going round in western dress."

A day earlier, *Srinagar Times* had carried a statement, purported to be from the Islami Jamait-i-Tulba, which held that the purdah movement for women was going beyond the limits prescribed under Islam. Some unscrupulous young men bereft of Islamic ways of life have sneaked into the ranks of the movement. In its issue of June 27, 1992, *Srinagar Times* carried a news item which stated that the Students United Front has said that some militants are trying to violate the sanctity of the university after throwing colour on some girl students to force them to use 'burqa' within the university campus. Some girl students fainted due to the humiliation heaped upon them. The Union warned that gun-totters would not be allowed to interfere in the internal affairs of the university, and in case they threaten any student on the campus, their guns would be snatched to be handed over to their mentors.

However, after two days, *Srinagar Times* carried another statement of the Al-Umar Mujahideen which stated: "Kashmir University female students are found on the campus bare-headed and without a 'burqa'. The university is a citadel of knowledge, and by observing the rules of Islamic Sharia in the university, these girls can set an example for the rest of the girls living in society . . . We do not stand for coercion in the matter of 'Din' (faith). However, it is our duty to motivate Muslims towards faith. In order to set right a society which has been spoilt by the Government, we will not hesitate to apply pressure."

Kashmiri Muslims have reacted differently at different times and that too en-masse. Their alienation from one leader or the other has always been total but periodic. They expressed their hostility to Jinnah, the mentor of the two-nation theory in the late forties when the 'Qaaid-i-Azam' was greeted with pants down by them. They displayed their alienation with the Sheikh in 1953 and joined the Bakshi's bandwagon when he later replaced the former as the Chief Minister of Kashmir.

Sheikh Abdullah was arrested on August 9, 1953 at Gulmarg. He had earlier been dismissed as the Chief Minister of J&K State by Dr. Karan Singh, the then Sadr-i-Riyasat. He was succeeded by his deputy Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed. The news of his dismissal and subsequent arrest spread like wild fire and the entire Muslim population of the Valley was out on the streets, defying prohibitory orders including curfew, to lodge protest against the 'unceremonious removal of the Sheikh'.

The successor of the Sheikh was not able to move out of his heavily guarded official residence at Maulana Abdul Kalam Road. He was aware that Kashmiri Muslims were despising him in the wake of new political developments but he also understood the psyche of Kashmiris. He maintained his cool and bided his time in the fond expectations of a miracle. His hopes were not belied. Barely after six days, on August 15, India's Independence Day, only three neighbours of Bakshi ventured to take out a pro-Bakshi and pro-New Delhi procession from Safa Kadal, a downtown locality where Bakshi had his ancestral house. They started proceeding towards the official residence of Bakshi. More and more people joined the procession en route and by the time it reached Polo Ground, it was a few thousands strong. The slogans, raised by the processionists, could be heard from quite a distance, sending shivers down the spine of the security guards of Bakshi.

They along with the family members and the staff of Bakshi could not believe their ears when they heard pro-Bakshi and pro-India slogans as the slogans became audible with processionists advancing towards their destination — Bakshi's residence. Looking from behind the window-panes of his sitting room on the first floor, Bakshi recognised his neighbours and supporters in the vanguard of the procession. He lost no time in opening the window. He waved at the processionists and gesticulated them to come inside his fortified residence. The people gatecrashed

into the house, notwithstanding the protest of the security staff and celebrated Independence Day. This development was only the beginning.

Within the next one year or two, Kashmiri Muslims seemed to have forgotten their hero — the Sheikh. When Bulganin and Khrushchev, the Soviet leaders, visited Srinagar in December 1955, newsmen, particularly from the western countries could not believe their eyes when they saw the entire population of Kashmir flocking to welcome the visiting leaders, braving the cold wind for hours together. Newsmen were amazed to see Kashmiri Muslims missing their Friday prayers to greet the proclaimed atheists.

In January, 1958, the Government of India decided to release the Sheikh from the Special Jail at Kud on the Jammu-Srinagar national highway (Banihal Cart Road). Once again the element of surprise was in store for national and international newsmen who flew to cover the event. A sea of humanity turned out on the roads to welcome the Sheikh and that too once again braving the bitter mid-winter cold. Newsmen were convinced that the Sheikh was the only leader in the Valley and what they had seen during the last few years was only an aberration.

The Sheikh was soon re-arrested for his indiscretion. Within a few days of the re-arrest of the Sheikh, Bakshi undertook an extensive tour of the countryside in the Valley. The ever- enthusiastic Kashmiri crowds were on roadsides to sing folklores, amended suitably to praise Bakshi. The hectic tour programme culminated at Lal Chowk, Srinagar, where Bakshi addressed a big rally. The Sheikh, before his rearrest, had also addressed another rally at the same place. The gathering at Bakshi's rally was not less impressive (if not more) than the Sheikh. Newsmen were once again in a predicament as they had written off Bakshi as the mass leader only a few days ago.

At a Press conference, addressed by Bakshi, a foreign newsman shot a straight question, "Mr. Bakshi, how many people are with you?" Without batting an eyelid, Bakshi replied, "Forty lakhs." The newsman retorted, "But that is the total population of the State." "Yes, I know," said Bakshi. "Do you mean that the Sheikh does not have any following at all in the State?" asked the newsman. "No, I did not say so," was the cool reply from Bakshi who added, "Sheikh sahib commands a following

of forty lakhs." "But how?" the newsman threw up his arms. Eruditely, Bakshi calmed the newsman down and said, "Even Sadiq sahib has a following of forty lakhs." (G. M. Sadiq had deserted Bakshi and the National Conference to form the Democratic National Conference, another political party, some time ago and was attracting impressive crowds during his public meetings.) The newsman was at a loss to understand this jugglery of figures and his confusion was worse confounded. He was not aware of the trait in the character of the Kashmiri who does not believe in annoying anyone, particularly those who are in power or are in waiting. The same population turned against Bakshi during the Moe-i- Muqaddas crisis which erupted in Srinagar on December 27, 1963.

The 'alienation' is a myth concocted by the media and pseudo-secularists. Such myths were also coined earlier with different nomenclatures such as 'liberalization process' during the reign of G. M Sadiq was more or less equated with alienation.

Similar is the case with newsmen and columnists who talk about the total alienation of Kashmiri muslims. While the visiting newsmen, often guided by local correspondents and sympathetic 'human rights' activists get the picture of total alienation of the population from the government and the state terrorism, the politicians in power are invariably told by the people that the residents in the Valley have been caught between the deep sea and the devil. They allege on the one hand, they have to face the gun-wielding terrorists who roam scot-free while on the other hand, they have to face the ire of the security forces.

It is the story of Kashmir valley where the 'jehad' with mullas, as leaders in league with vested interests, continues to loom large over the secular traditions of India, maintained since the Independence of the country way back in 1947, notwithstanding threats to them from time to time by fissiparous tendencies. It is not realized by mullas in Kashmir and their mentors that if Jammu & Kashmir State (the only state in India with Muslim majority population) opts out of India, the Hindu chauvinistic forces in the rest of India would get an impetus and secular traditions would be endangered.

APPENDIX I

India's Legal Right Over Jammu and Kashmir

Instrument of Accession executed by Maharajah Hari Singh on October 26, 1947:

Whereas the Indian Independence Act, 1947, provides that as form the fifteenth day of August, 1947, there shall be set up an independent Dominion known as INDIA, and that the Government of India Act 1935, shall with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as the Governor General may be order specify, be applicable to the Dominion of India.

And whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, as so adapted by the Governor General, provides that an Indian State may accede to the Dominion of India by an Instrument of Accession actuated by the Ruler thereof.

Now, therefore, I, Shriman Inder Mahinder Rajrajeswar Maharajadhiraj Shri Hari Singhji, Jammu & Kashmir Naresh Tatha Tibbet adi Deshadhipati, Ruler of Jammu & Kashmir State, in the exercise of my Sovereignty in and over my said State do hereby execute this my Instrument of Accession and

1. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India with the intent that the Governor General of India, the Dominion Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Dominion authority established for the purposes of the Dominion shall be virtue of this my Instrument of Accession but subject always to the terms thereof, and for the purposes only of the Dominion, exercise in relation to the State of Jammu & Kashmir (hereinafter referred to as "this State") such functions as may be vested in them by or under the Government of India Act, 1935, as in force in the Dominion of India, on the 15th Day of August 1947, (which Act as so in force in hereafter referred to as "the Act").

2. I hereby assume the obligation of ensuring that due effect is given to provisions of the Act within this State so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession.

Given under my hand this 26th day of October, nineteen hundred and fortyseven.

Hari Singh
Maharajadhiraj of Jammu and Kashmir State.

ACCEPTANCE OF ACCESSION BY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA

I do hereby accept this Instrument of Accession.

Dated this twenty seventh day of October, nineteen hundred and forty seven.

Mountbatten of Burma
Governor General of India.

APPENDIX II

Text of the Simla Agreement

1. The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the subcontinent, so that both countries may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their peoples.

In order to achieve this objective, the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan have agreed as follows:

(i) That the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two countries;

(ii) That the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both shall prevent the organization, assistance of encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations;

(iii) That the prerequisite for reconciliation, good neighborliness and durable peace between them is a commitment by both the countries to peaceful co-existence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit;

(iv) That the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedeviled the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means;

(v) That they shall always respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality;

(vi) That in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations they will refrain from the threat of use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other.

3. I accept the matters specified in the schedule hereto as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make law for this State.

4. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India on the assurance that if an agreement is made between the Governor General and the Ruler of this State whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this State of any law of the Dominion legislature shall be exercised by the Ruler of the State, then any such agreement shall be construed and have effect accordingly.

5. The terms of this my Instrument of Accession shall not be varied by any amendment of the Act or the Indian Independence Act, 1947, unless such amendment is accepted by me by Instrument supplementary to this Instrument.

6. Nothing in this Instrument shall empower the Dominion Legislature to make any law for this State authorizing the compulsory acquisition of land for any purpose, but I hereby undertake that should the Dominion for the purpose of a Dominion law which applies in this State deem it necessary to acquire any land, I will at their request acquire the land at their expense, or, if the land belongs to me transfer it to them on such terms as may be agreed or, in default of agreement, determined by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Justice of India.

7. Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit in any way to acceptance of any future constitution of india or to fetter my discretion to enter into agreement with the Government of India under any such future constitution.

8. Nothing in this Instrument affects the continuance of my Sovereignty in and over this State, or, save as provided by or under this Instrument, the exercise of any powers, authority and rights now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State or the validity of any law at present in force in this State.

9. I hereby declare that I execute this Instrument on behalf of this State and that any reference in this Instrument to me or to the Ruler of the State is to be construed as including a reference to my heirs and successors.

ANNEXURE I

THIS HAPPENED TO KASHMIRI PANDITS

A.D. 1389-1413 The Islamic zeal attained fanatical proportions under Sultan Sikander (A.D 1389-1413) who came to be known as *But Shikan* (destroyer of idols). "There was no city, no town, no village, no wood, where the temples of gods remained unbroken." The Sultan even tried to pull down the famous temple of Martand but later gave up the effort. Under the influence of the Baihaqi Sayyids, the Sultan banned un-Islamic practices such as drinking, gambling, dancing and playing of musical instruments. The Hindus were subjected to *jizia*, and forbidden to apply *tilak* on their forehead. Sikander also introduced an institution of Sheikh-ul-Islam to insure that the injunctions of Islam were fully observed. A relentless campaign for conversion to Islam was launched, under the charge of the Sultan's Chief Minister, Malik Saif-ud-Din. The Chief Minister's original name was Suha Bhatta. He renounced his Hindu faith to accept Islam. The zeal of this neo-convert knew no bounds. He unleashed a reign of terror against those who resisted conversion. It is believed that the Sultan and his Chief Minister threw into the Dal Lake all the sacred books of Hindus that they could lay their hands on, and seven maunds of sacred threads of murdered Brahmins were burnt. It is from this period that the predominance of Muslims in the population of the Valley began.

A.D. 1671-75 During Aurangzeb's long reign of 49 years, Kashmir saw fourteen governors. They generally ruled well. But one of them, Ifrikar Khan (A.D. 1671-75), persecuted the Brahmins, and they approached the ninth Sikh Guru, Tegh Bahadur. They complained to him: "We suffer great atrocities, sacred threads (*janeus*) are forcibly taken off our persons. Cows are killed. *Janeus*, a maund and a quarter in weight, are snapped in a single day." The Guru consoled them and said, "Go and tell the Mughal rulers that if they converted Tegh Bahadur they would all voluntarily accept Islam." This infuria-

ted the Imperial Court and led to the Guru's martyrdom. And the Sikh faith and history took a new turn

A.D. 1762-1811 With the re-establishment of Afghan rule, the miseries of the people multiplied. Kashmiris had the misfortune of being ruled by two upstarts — Lal Khan Khattak and Faquir Ullah. Both were tyrannical to the extreme. The former was given to fits of insane rage and sometimes got an entire family killed on mere suspicion. He was particularly hard on Hindus. Faquir Ullah was equally inhuman. He got hundreds of Kashmiri Pandits killed because he suspected that his father had been killed at the instance of a Kashmiri Pandit, Kailash Dhar, who was a nobleman at the time. Another Afghan Governor, Ata Muhammad Khan, had earned notoriety for his insatiable lust for beautiful Kashmiri women. The Hindu parents became so apprehensive that they had the good looks of their girls sullied to evade the attention of the Governor's agents. Jabbar Khan, the last Afghan Governor, also persecuted the Hindus relentlessly.

2. Both Governments will take steps within their power to prevent hostile propaganda directed against each other. Both countries will encourage the dissemination of such information as would promote the development of friendly relations between them.

3. In order progressively to restore and normalize relations between the two countries step by step, it was agreed that:

(i) Steps shall be taken to resume communications, postal, telegraphic, sea, land including border posts, and air links including overflights.

(ii) Appropriate steps shall be taken to promote travel facilities for the nationals of the other country.

(iii) Trade and cooperation in economic and other agreed fields will be resumed as far as possible.

(iv) Exchange in the fields of science and culture will be promoted.

In this connection delegations from the two countries will meet from time to time to work out the necessary details.

4. In order to initiate the process of establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agree that:

(i) Indian and Pakistani forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the international border.

(ii) In Jammu and Kashmir, the Line of Control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat or the use of force in violation of this Line.

(iii) The withdrawals shall commence upon entry into force of this Agreement and shall be completed within a period of 30 days thereof.

5. This agreement will be subject to ratification by both countries in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures and will come into force with effect from the date of which the Instruments of ratification are exchanged.

6. Both Governments agree that their respective Heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and that, in the meanwhile, the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalization of relations, including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian interests, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations.

(Indira Gandhi)
Prime Minister
Republic of India
Simla, the 2nd July, 1972

(Zulfikar Ali Bhutto)
Prime Minister
Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Annexure – II

TEMPLES ATTACKED DURING COMMUNAL VIOLENCE IN KASHMIR VALLEY FROM 1986 - 92

YEAR 1986

S.No.	Name/Location of Temple	Nature of attack	Date	Extent of Damage
	SRINAGAR DISTRICT			
1	Temple at Ganpatyar, Srinagar city.	Subjected to stone pelting.	Feb. 20, 1986	Window panes damaged.
2	Bhairon temple, Maisuma, Srinagar city.	Subjected to stone pelting.	-do-	Minor damage.
3	Temple opposite Gurdwara, Amira Kadal, Srinagar city.	Ransacked.	-do-	Building not damaged.
4	Shiva temple, Jawahar Nagar, Srinagar city.	Attempt to set on fire. Furniture / carpets set on fire outside the temple.	-do-	Minor damage to one window.
5	Bhairon temple, Karan Nagar, Srinagar city.	Attempt to set on fire. Matting gutted.	-do-	Matting burnt. No damage.
6	Shiva temple, near New Sectt., Srinagar city.	Attempt made to set it on fire.	-do-	Minor damage.
7	Shiva temple at Chota Bazar, Srinagar city.	60/70 miscreants tried to attack the temple. Police fired four rounds in the air and chased away miscreants.	-do-	No damage.
8	Narain Math temple, Solina at Tulsi Bagh, Srinagar city.	Attempt made to set it on fire. Also subjected to stone pelting.	-do-	Minor damage to window.

ANANTNAG DISTRICT

S.No	Name/Location of Temple	Nature of attack	Date	Extent of Damage
9	Gautam Nag temple, Sarnal, Anantnag town.	Set on fire.	-do-	Major damage. Out of four rooms, three were badly burnt.
10	Shivalaya temple, Nai Basti, Anantnag town.	Subjected to heavy stone pelting and ransacked.	-do-	Damaged.
11	A temple at Wanpoh on Khanabal-Qazigund Road.	Set on fire and destroyed (wooden structure).	-do-	Damaged.
12	Another temple at Wanpoh.	Set on fire (permanent structure).	-do-	-do-
13	A temple at Aishmuqam.	Ransacked.	-do-	The idol smashed.
14	A temple at Dhanav Bogund, Kulgam Tehsil.	Set on fire.	-do-	Damaged.
15	Nowgam temple at Shangas	Set on fire.	Feb.20/ 21, '86	-do-
16	Achhabal temple near Nowgam.	Subjected to heavy stone pelting and ransacked.	Feb.20 1986.	Damaged.
17-20	Four temples in village Luk Bawan, P.S. Qazigund.	Ransacked, partially burnt and property looted.	Feb.20 /21, 86	Major damage.
21	Harishchandra Seva Mandir, Bijbehara. An ancient temple famous for its 'Kah kah stone'.	Ransacked.	Feb.20, 1986	Idol damaged.
22	Devi temple, village Karewa, Bijbehara.	Ransacked.	-do-	-do-
23	Shivalaya Temple, Janglat Mandi, Anantnag town.	Ransacked.	-do-	Damaged.
24	A temple at village Dyalgam, tehsil Anantnag.	Ransacked.	-do-	-do-

S.No	Name/Location of Temple	Nature of attack	Date	Extent of Damage
25	A temple at village Fatehpura, Police Station (P. S.) Qazigund.	Set on fire.	-do-	Damaged.
26	A temple at village Siligam, P. S. Aishmuqam.	Ransacked.	-do-	Damaged.
PULWAMA DISTRICT				
27	Shiva temple at village Koil, P. S. Pulwama.	Attempt to set on fire.	Feb.20/21, 86	Temple saved by priests.
28	A temple at village Frisal, P. S. Pulwama.	Ransacked.	-do-	Idol and microphone removed. Boundary wall of the nearby cremation ground also damaged.
BARAMULLA DISTRICT				
29	Kali temple, mohalla Jamia Qadim, Sopore.	Attempted arson foiled by locals.	Feb.20, 1986	No damage.
30	Batpora temple, Sopore.	A few stones pelted.	-do-	Slight damage.
ANANTNAG DISTRICT				
31	Chandan Pujani temple at village Visu (P. S. Qazigund).	Set on fire.	Feb.24/25, 1986	Estimated loss of several thousand rupees.
BADGAM DISTRICT				
32	Sharada Devi temple at V. Yatchkot (P. S. Badgam)	Attempt to set on fire.	-do-	A portion of the wooden structure partially damaged.
33	Shiva temple at V. Sangampura (P. S. Beeru).	-do-	-do-	A portion of the verandah of the temple burnt.
34	Shiva temple at V. Magam (P. S. Wadoora).	-do-	-do-	Minor damages.

BARAMULLA DISTRICT

SNo.	Name/Location of Temple	Nature of attack	Date	Extent of Damage
35	Temple at Bandipora.	Set on fire.	Feb.23/ 24, 1986	Minor damages.
36	Another temple at Bandipora.	Set on fire.	Feb. 25, 1986	Minor damages.

Year — 1988

SRINAGAR DISTRICT

1	Ram Mandir, Maharaj Ganj, Srinagar.	Attempted arson.	Aug 15 1988	Minor damages.
2	Shiv temple, Saraf Kadal, Srinagar.	Stone pelting.	18.8.19 88	-do-

BARAMULLA DISTRICT

3	Shiva temple, Bandipur.	Temple and Ashram set ablaze.	-do-	Substantial damages.
4	Shri Rughunath Temple, Baramulla.	Explosion in temple.	21.8.88	Minor damages.

PULWAMA DISTRICT

5	Shiva temple, Shopian.	Ransacked.	-do-	Substantial damages.
6	Local temple at Tral.	Set ablaze.	-do-	-do-

ANANTNAG DISTRICT

7	Devi temple, Anantnag.	-do-	19.8.88	Minor damages.

DODA DISTRICT

8	Basaknag temple, Bhederwah.	-do-	27.10. 88	Minor damages.

Year — 1989

SRINAGAR DISTRICT

1	Auditorium of Shri Ram temple, Barbarshah, Srinagar.	Explosion.	24.3.89	Damaged.
2	Shiva temple, Chota Bazar, Srinagar.	Ransacked.	29.9.89	-do-

S.No	Name/Location of Temple	Nature of attack	Date	Extent of Damage
3	Shri Rughunath temple, Srinagar.	Attempted Arson.	30.9.89	-do-
4	Rama Krishna Ashram Building, Chota Bazar, Srinagar.	Set ablaze.	2.11.89	Substantial damages.
PULWAMA DISTRICT				
5	Suchannath temple, Shopian.	-do-	3.10.89	-do-
BADGAM DISTRICT				
6	Shri Ram temple, Badgam.	Ransacked, one idol removed	26.10.89	-do-
UDHAMPUR DISTRICT (JAMMU REGION)				
7	Rawa temple, Udhampur.	Desecration.	1.2.89	Substantial damages.
DODA DISTRICT (JAMMU REGION)				
8	Supernag temple, Guraka village.	One idol removed, temple set ablaze.	25.9.89	Substantial damages.
9	Shiva Temple, Kishtwar.	Explosion.	2.11.89	Damaged.
10	Banihal temple.	-do-	10.11.89	Substantial damages.
11	Temple at village Kulhar.	Set ablaze.	12.11.89	-do-
12	Temple at village Barat.	-do-	-do-	-do-

Year — 1990

S.No	Name/Location of Temple	Nature of attack	Date	Extent of Damage
SRINAGAR DISTRICT				
1	Arya Samaj school temple Srinagar.	Explosion.	10.2.90	Damaged.
2	Shri Rughunath temple, Srinagar.	Attempted arson.	24.2.90	-do-
3	Arya Samaj School temple, Wazir Bagh, Srinagar.	Explosion.	21.7.90	Substantial damages.
4	Auditorium of Shri Ram temple, Barbarshah, Srinagar.	Rocket attack.	2.9.90	Damaged.

S.No	Name/Location of Temple	Nature of attack	Date	Extent of Damage
5	Shitalnath temple, Srinagar.	Set ablaze.	18.11.90	Substantial damages.
ANANTNAG DISTRICT				
6	Laxmi temple, Bijbehera.	Set ablaze.	4.8.90	-do-
BARAMULLA DISTRICT				
7	Sharda temple, Kaloosa, Bandipur.	Set ablaze.	7.11.90	-do-
KUPWARA DISTRICT				
8	Handwara temple.	Idols stolen and premises desecrated.	13.11.90	Not recovered.

Year — 1991

S.No	Name/Location of Temple	Nature of attack	Date	Extent of Damage
ANANTNAG DISTRICT				
1	Nagabal temple, Anantnag.	Explosion.	8.1.91	Partial damages.
2	Shri Rughunath temple, Anantnag.	-do-	9.1.91	-do-
3	Grenades hurled and idols thrown out of temple premises.	-do-	20.6.91	-do-
SRINAGAR DISTRICT				
4	Shri Rughunath temple, Srinagar.	Temple set ablaze.	30.4.91	Partial damages.

Year — 1992

S.No	Name/Location of Temple	Nature of attack	Date	Extent of Damage
1	Rughunath temple, Karfali mohalla, Srinagar	Arson.	8.5.92	Damaged.
2	Anantnag.	-do-	7.12.92	-do-
3	Srinagar.	-do-	-do-	-do-
4	Kulgam, Anantnag.	-do-	-do-	-do-
5	Shiva temple, Sherporagund, Anantnag.	-do-	-do-	-do-
6	Temple at Kanihama-Tangmarg Road, Baramulla.	-do-	-do-	-do-

S.No	Name/Location of Temple	Nature of attack	Date	Extent of Damage
7	Temple at Kunzer-Tangmarg Road, Baramulla.	-do-	-do-	-do-
8	Shri Vishnu temple at Jhelum Bank, Baramulla.	-do-	-do-	-do-
9	Temple at Kreevi Utrasoo, Anantnag.	-do-	-do-	-do-
10	Temple at Chittergund, Anantnag.	-do-	-do-	-do-
11	Temple at Bana mohalla, Srinagar.	-do-	-do-	-do-
12	Temple at Karfali mohalla, Srinagar.	-do-	-do-	-do-
13	Shamshan Bhumi temple, Karan Nagar, Srinagar.	-do-	-do-	-do-
14	Temple at Narain Bagh, Shadipur, Ganderbal, Srinagar.	-do-	-do-	-do-
15	Nand Kishore temple, Sumbal, Baramulla.	-do-	-do-	-do-
16	Temple at Pahalgam, Anantnag.	-do-	8.12.92	-do-
17	Verinag, Anantnag.	-do-	-do-	-do-
18	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-
19	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-
20	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-
21	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-
22	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-
23	Temple at Trehgam, Kupwara.	-do-	9.12.92	-do-
24	Temple at Pattan, Baramulla.	-do-	-do-	-do-

Annexure III

305275 AFP IN

377 242 CTOJ IN

URGENT MESSAGE FOR MR O. N. GANJU,

CORRESPONDENT ,JAMMU AND KASHMIR A.F . P.,

JAMMU TAWI.

WE HAVE WITHDRAWN LASTNIGHT AT ELEVEN P.M. NEWS ITEM REGARDING DEMONSTRATIONS HELD IN SRINAGAR YESTERDAY AS DIRECTED BY YOU.

WE ARE HIGHLY REGRETFUL THAT WE MADE SOME ADDITIONS IN YOUR NEWS ITEM ON THE BASIS OF A TELEPHONE CALL RECEIVED BY US FROM SRINGAR FROM MR ZAFFAR MERAJ , AS ONE OF OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS DURING HIS STAY IN SRINAGAR HAD ALSO SOUGHT HIS SERVICES AT SPECIAL OCCASSIONS WHEN YOU ARE ABSENT FROM SRINAGAR . BUT EEPING IN VIEW YESTERDAYS BUNGLINGS WE HAVE DECIDED TO CANCEL THAT ARRANGEMENT HENCEFORTH IN LIGHT OF TELEPHONE TALK YOU HAD WITH US LASTNIGHT AND NOW ONWARDS SOLELY DEPEND ON YOU WHETHER YOU ARE IN JAMMU OR SRINAGAR AS WE DONT WANT TO PUT IN ANY KIND OF TROUBLE .

PLEASE ESXPRESS OUR DEEP REGRET TO ALL THOSE TOP OFFICIALS OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS THE STATE INFORMATION DEPARTMENT FOR OUR THIS SERIOUS LAPSE.

WITH BEST REGARDS:

YOURS SINCERELY

MS ATE WEBB, DIRECTOR NEWS SERVICES A.F.P.

NEW DELHI - APRIL 16,1992.

377 242 CTOJ IN

ANNEXURE - IV

Comparative Statement of Reporting of Events from Jan. 21 to 25, 1990

Date of Incidents	Newspapers/Media	Death Toll Claimed	Source	Actual Toll
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
January 21	Statesman (22/1)	35 killed, 100 injured	Correspondent	
	Patriot (22/1)	35 killed, 100 injured	U.N.I.	
	National Herald (22/1)	35 killed	Correspondent (Shyam Kaul)	
	Indian Express (Chandigarh) (22/1)	30 killed	P.T.I.	
	The Hindustan Times (22/1)	32 killed (However mentioned official toll : 9)	Correspondent (S. S. Banyal)	
	Doordarshan, New Delhi 9.30 p.m. bulletin, (22/1)	27 killed	Quoting agencies	
	Doordarshan, 7.05 a.m. (22/1)	35 killed	-do-	
	A.I.R., 9 a.m. , (22/1)	9 killed	Correspondent	
	A.I.R. 8 a.m., (23/1)	Un-official toll: 32	Agencies	
	AP (22/1)	17 killed	Correspondent quoting Nomani, Inspector General of State Police	

Date of Incidents	Newspapers/Media	Death Toll Claimed	Source	Actual Toll
January 21/22	BBC	Puts toll at 70. Says bodies still lying on roads and ambulances sent for picking them up were fired upon.	Mark Tully	
	Jansatta (Chandigarh)	Puts toll at 45	PTI	
January 22	Tribune Chandigarh (23/1)	Mutiny by JKAP 15 killed	Correspondent (M.L. Kak)	
	Statesman (23/1)	8 killed (Total toll at 52)	Correspondent	
	Indian Express Chandigarh (23/1)	7 killed	UNI	
	Kashmir Times (23/1)	12 killed	Correspondent	
	Excelsior	11 killed	Correspondent	
January 23, Sonawar incident	Tribune (24/1)	8 killed	Correspondent (M.L. Kak)	
	UNI	8 killed but withdrew later and puts the toll at		
	PTI	4 killed		
	The Hindustan Times	8 killed	Correspondent (S.S. Banyal)	Only 2 killed; total toll in 3 days was 28.
	National Herald	7 killed		

Date of Incidents	Newspapers/Media	Death Toll Claimed	Source	Actual Toll
January 24	Indian Express (26/1)	1 killed	Agencies	1 killed
January 25 Shootout at Rawalpora (4 IAF officers killed)	All newspapers (26/1)	4 killed	Agencies	4 killed
January 25 Handwara	Excelsior (26/1)	20 killed	Dateline Jammu	
	The Hindustan Times (27/1)	9 killed (Unofficial source puts toll 20)	Dateline Jammu (Anil Maheshwari)	9 killed
	Hindu (27/1)	9 killed	Correspondent	-do-
	Times of India	9 killed	-do-	-do-
	BBC	19 killed	-do-	-do-
	AFP	24 killed	-do-	-do-
	AP	11 killed	-do-	-do-
	Reuter	19 killed	-do-	-do-

Note :
1. A.I.R. denotes All India Radio.
2. UNI and PTI are Indian news agencies.
3. AFP, AP and Reuter are International news agencies.

ANNEXURE V

(Exaggerated Reporting)The Hindustan Times

S.No.	Issue	Source	Incident & Date	Official Report
1.	January 24	S.S.Banyal Story	Srinagar, Jan. 23 Six killed as UN guards fire on Srinagar mob.	
			(a) Security guards of UNMOG shot dead six people in Sonawar area.	4 civilians were reportedly killed.
			(b)In police firing, one person was killed in Lal Bazar and another at Kamu in Anantnag district.	No such incident was reported on January 23. However, one bullet-ridden body of a Sikh was recovered from river Jhelum at Batwara.
2.	June 15	PTI	Jammu, June 14 Eight killed in Kashmir. Subverters killed eight people, including three BSF Personnel	5 persons including one BSF personnel reportedly killed on June 13. Only two casualties were reported on June 14.
3.	July 10	UNI, PTI	Jammu, July 9 30 killed in Valley: DC's son released.	
			(a) 30 people, including 13 militants and 3 CRPF Jawans were killed in Kashmir Valley since last night .	1 person was reportedly killed on July 9, Two SF and 1 CRPF jawan killed on July 8. No CRPF jawan was killed on July 9.
			(b) 13 militants were killed and one arrested while trying to infiltrate.	1 killed and 4 arrested while trying to infiltrate.
4.	July 18	PTI	Srinagar, July 17 Red alert sounded in Kashmir; 6 killed	3 persons were reportedly killed on July 17.

S.No.	Issue	Source	Incident & Date	Official Report
5.	August 20	PTI	Jammu, August 19 Alert in Valley ; 5 killed	No casualty reported on August 19. Three were reportedly killed on August 19
6.	September 4	HTC	Srinagar, September 3 13 killed in Valley; 13 people including 2 suspected militants and 1 CRPF jawan, were killed in the Valley.	8 casualties reported. No CRPF man was killed on Setpember 3.
7.	September 17	PTI	Jammu, September 16 5 killed in Kashmir 5 people including a militant were killed in last 24 hours. A miltant was killed in the Kupwara Sector in an encounter.	No casualty was reported on September 15. 3 casualties reported on September 16. No millitant was killed on the border on September 15/16.
8.	September 20	UNI	Srinagar, September 19 Six killed in Valley. A BSF jawan and a self-styled area commander of 'Kashmir Freedom Movement' were among six killed during last 24 hours.	Only killing of an Area Commandar of KFM was reported on September 18. No BSF Jawan killed on September 18/19. No casualty reported on September 19.

The Statesman

S.No.	Issue	Source	Incident & Date	Official Report
1.	June 13	PTI	Jammu, June 12 5 militants among 10 killed in J&K.	4 casualties were reported on June 12.

S.No.	Issue	Source	Incident & Date	Official Report
2.	June 24	FOC	Jammu, June 23 21 killed in Valley a) Twenty-one people including 14 militants and 2 CRPF jawans were killed. b) Nine subversives were killed in Kupwara while infiltrating.	3 casualties were reported on July 23. 5 subversives were reportedly killed on July 23 in Kupwara.
3.	August 11	UNI & PTI	Jammu, August 10 5 killed in Kashmir; Five people were killed by militants in Kashmir Valley since last night	1 person was reportedly killed.
4.	August 13	FOC	Jammu, August 12 19 killed in Kashmir; Nineteen people, including 13 militants, 4 BSF jawans and 2 civilians were killed since last night. 13 militants were killed at the LAC.	1 civilian was reportedly killed on August 12. No casualty reported on August 11. No BSF jawan was killed on August 11/12. Only 1 militant was reportedly killed at Kupwara on August 11.
5.	August 19	FOC	Jammu, August 18 11 killed, top millitant held; (a) Eleven people including seven militants were killed today. (b) Six militants were killed at the border while infiltrating.	Two casualties were reported on August 18. No such incident reported on August 18.
6.	August 20	UNI	Jammu, August 19 5 killed in Kashmir, Six militants held. Three militants were killed in an encounter in Kupwara Sector while infiltrating.	Only 1 casualty reported on August 19. No such incident reported.

S.No.	Issue	Source	Incident & Date	Official Report
7.	August 26	UNI	Jammu, August 25 10 killed in Kashmir. Six subversives were among 10 killed in Kashmir valley since last night.	Only 8 casualties were reported on August 25 and one on August 24.
8.	August 28	UNI & PTI	Srinagar, August, 27 Former MLA among 10 killed in J&K; A former MLA of J&K and a police constable were among 10 killed in the Valley since last night.	4 casualties reported. No policeman killed on August 27.
9.	September 5	FOC	Jammu, September 4 Eight killed in Kashmir (a) At least 8 people were reported to have been killed in different parts of Kashmir Valley. (b)BSF shot 2 militants in Uri.	4 casualties were reported on September 4. No such incident reported.

The Indian Express

1.	March 1	ENS	February 28 One person killed in shooting incident in Bijbehara.	No such report.
2.	August 16	UNI	August 15 18 people, including 15 militants killed in Valley. a) 14 militants killed in an encounter in the 5 km. belt.	6 casualties reported on August 14 and only. No such incident reported.

S.No.	Issue	Source	Incident & Date	Official Report
3.	August 30	PTI	August 29 12 killed in Kashmir a) 7 militants were killed in different incidents.	4 casualties reported on August 29. 3 militants reportedly killed on August 29.
4.	September 1	ENS	August 31 10 killed in Valley	3 casualties including 1 security personnel reported on August 31.
5.	September 6	ENS	September 5 7 killed including 3 security forces personnel; 3 securitymen among 7 killed in Kashmir.	5 persons including 3 security men killed on September 5.

The Times of India

S.No.	Issue	Source	Incident & Date	Official Report
1.	July 10	Agencies	Jammu, June 9 13 terrorists among 30 killed. a) 12 militants killed in encounter when they tried to sneak across the LAC in Valley.	Only one casualty reported on July 9. Only 1 militant was killed in Kupwara sector on July 8/9.
2.	July12	TOINS	Srinagar, July 11 11 shot in Valley	Only 1 casualty reported on July 11.
3.	September 1	TOINS	Srinagar, August 30 SSP Shot At; 9 killed in Kashmir	3 casualties reported on July 11.

S.No.	Issue	Source	Incident & Date	Official Report
4.	September 4	TOINS	Srinagar, September 3 JK Staff on strike; 5 killed	2 casualties were reported on Sept. 3.
5.	September 8	TOINS	Srinagar, September 7 15 JK militants among 26 killed. a) 13 Pak trained youth killed in an encounter in Uri Sector. b) Six security personnel were killed in a mine blast planted at Shakhargund at Sopore-Handwara road. c) Six security personnel were also killed in the encounter.	21 casualties reported on Sept. 3. a) 12 killed on 6\7 Sept. in Uri Sector. b) Only one jawan was killed in the encounter. c) No such incident was reported.
6.	September 9	TOINS	Srinagar, Sept. 8 2 jawans among nine killed in J&K.	4 casualties including two security personnel reported on Sept. 8.
7.	September 10	UNI	Jammu, Sept. 9 2 security men among seven killed in J&K.	Only one casualty, that of a security man, was reported on Sept. 9.
8.	September 12	TOINS	Srinagar, Sept. 11 30 J&K militants die in bus blast during encounter.	21 militants were killed in the incident.

Note : 1. HTC denotes Hindustan Times Correspondent.

2. FOC denotes from our Correspondent.

3. ENC denotes Express News Service.

4. TOINS denotes Times of India News Services.

Annexure VI

SELECT LIST OF BARBARIC
KILLINGS OF HINDUS IN KASHMIR

(3-4-1987 to 21-12-1990 only)

S.No.	Name	Address	Profession	Date of Assasination
1	A.Kumar Ganjoo	Sathu Barbershah	Govt. service	3-4-87
2	Pawan Kumar	Zaindar Mohalla	Shopkeeper	N.A.
3	Swami K.Nath	Vicharnag	Priest	9-12-88
4	Tika Lal Taploo	Chinkral Mohalla	Advocate	14-9-89
5	Neel Kanth Ganjoo	Karan Nagar	Ex-Session Judge	4-11-89
6	R.P.Singh	Anantnag	Central Govt. service	N.A.
7	Sheela Tikoo	Srinagar	Housewife	1.11.89
8	Ajay Kapoor	Maharajgunj Sgr.	Wholesale Cloth Merchant	1.12.89
9	Pran Nath Bhat	Anantnag	Advocate	27.12.89
10	Krishan Gopal Chauhan	Derwa Budgam	Govt. servant	March, 90
11	M.L.Bhan	Khonmoh Sgr.	-do-	12.1.90
12	Ramesh Kumar Thusoo	Trehgam Kupwara	Govt. servant	1.2.90
13	Satish Tikoo	Karfali Mohalla Srinagar	Shopkeeper	2.2.90
14	Tej Krishan Razdan	Gaw Kadal Sgr.	Govt. servant	12.2.90
15	Ashok Kumar	Tankipora, Sgr.	-do-	23.2.90
16	Naveen Saproo	Habba Kadal Sgr.	Telecom service	27.2.90
17	Lassa Koul	Bemina Sgr.	Central Govt. service	13.2.90
18	P.L.Fotedar	Bijbhera Anantnag	Govt. servant	28.2.90
19	P.N. Handoo	Balgarden Sgr.	Information Dept.	1.3.90
20	Anil Bhan	Kani Kadal Sgr.	Bank Officer	16.2.90
21	Mrs. N.M. Paul	Zakoora Sgr.	Wife of a BSF Inspector	17.3.90
22	Moti Singh	Kathua	-do-	27.2.90

S.No.	Name	Address	Profession	Date of Assasination
23	Kashi Nath	Kathi Darwaza Srinagar	Retd. Govt. servant	6.3.90
2	Tara Chand Ambardar	Zaindar Mohalla Srinagar	-do-	23.3.90
25	T.K.Razdan	Yachgam Badgam	Govt. servant	23.3.90
26	Som Nath Tikoo	Ganderbal Sgr.	-do-	-do-
27	Paul	Amira Kadal Sgr.		
28	Rattan Lal	Lolab Kupwara		
29	B.K.Ganjoo	Chota Bazar Sgr.	Telecom service	22.3.90
30	Shrimati Devi	Allachi Bagh Sgr.	Housewife	25.3.90
31	A.K.Raina	Srinagar	Govt. servant	20.3.90
32	Joginder Singh	N.A.	N.A.	3.3.90
33	Dinesh Lal	Karan Nagar Sgr.	Shopkeeper	19.3.90
34	Ramesh Sahni	Srinagar	Business	27.3.90
35	Punit Sahni	Nawab Bazar Sgr.	-do-	-do-
36	P.N. Kaul	Bijbhera Anantnag	Agri.Deptt.	22.3.90
37	Jagar Nath	Village Khushipora Anantnag	Police service	3.3.90
38	Amrik Singh	Amira Kadal Sgr.	Business	5.3.90
39	B.B.Misri	Peer Bagh Sgr.	-do-	23.3.90
40	Ramesh K.Peer	Vichar Nagh Sgr.	Service	6.4.90
41	Ashok Kumar Bhatt	Wadipora Sgr.	-do-	26.3.90
42	Radha Krishan	Karan Nagar Sgr.	Business	5.4.90
43	H.L.Khera	Srinagar	Gen. Manager (H.M.T.)	10.4.90
44	Joginder Malhotra	Safa kadal Sgr.	Business	22.4.90
45	Om Prakash	Shopian Pul	Govt. service	19.3.90
46	K.K.Kaul	Srinagar	Business	5.4.90
47	Sumitra Kaul	Harman, Kulgam	Housewife	26.6.90
48	Brij Lal Kaul		Service	26.6.90
49	Bansi Lal	Chattergul Ang.	Business	28.4.90
50	Dwarka Nath	Anantnag	Govt. service	30.4.90
51	Bhushan Lal Raina	Srinagar	Med. service	28.4.90
52	Narendar Nath	Rainawari Sgr.	-do-	24.4.90

S.No.	Name	Address	Profession	Date of Assasination
53	Bharat Bhushan Kaul	Dompora Badgam	-do-	27.5.90
54	Daleep Kumar	Killed At Nowhatta	Service	30.4.90
55	Brij Lal Shah	Sadhu Ganga Kupwara	Priest	27.4.90
56	Prem Nath Kaul	Koil Pulwama	N.A.	5.4.90
57	Daleep Singh	Shopian Pulwama	Service	30.4.90
58	Sarla Bhatt	Qazi Mohalla Ang. (Also gang-raped)	Nurse, Soura Medical Institute	18.4.90
59	Makhan Lal	Kani Kadal Sgr.	-do-	21.4.90
60	Sunil Kotru	Rainawari Sgr.	-do-	22.4.90
61	Niranjan Nath	Akingam Ang.	Business	24.4.90
62	Kashi Ram	Badgam	Service	25.4.90
63	Sarup Sampath	Sakura Badgam	-do-	25.4.90
64	Surender Khar	Mattan Anantnag	-do-	25.4.90
65	Bansi Lal Saproo	Gulab Bagh Sgr.	-do-	24.4.90
66	Raj Nath	New Khanda Sgr.	-do-	25.4.90
67	Bhushan Lal Raina	Ompora, Badgam	-do-	28.4.90
68	M.L. Pandita	Agri (Kupwara)	-do-	30.4.90
69	Heera Lal Kar	Srinagar	-do-	30.4.90
70	Makhan Lal Wangoo	Srinagar	-do-	-do-
71	Sarwanand Kaul (Premi)	Soaf Anantnag	Retd. Govt. Headmaster	-do-
72	Virender Kumar	Soaf Anantnag	Service	30.4.90
73	Makhan Lal Taploo	Anantnag	Business	2.5.90
74	Autar Krishan	Badgam	N.A.	2.6.90
75	Mohan lal	Gund, Badgam	Service	4.5.90
76	Chuni Lal Shala	Kupwara	Police Inspector	1.5.90
77	Vinod Kumar	Nawhatta, Srinagar	Service Inspector	1.5.90
78	Virender Kumar Chata	Baramulla	Service	3.5.90
79	Surinder Dhar	Habba Kadal, Srinagar	-do-	5.5.90

S.No.	Name	Address	Profession	Date of Assasination
80	Prof. Kundan Lal Ganjoo	Sopore	-do-	7.5.90
81	Prana Ganjoo (Gang-raped, Private parts torn)	Sopore	-do-	-do-
82	Dolly	Karan Nagar		-do-
83	Prediman Krishan Bhatt	Lolab Sogam	N.A.	28.4.90
84	Dev Kant Roy	Srinagar	Service	8.5.90
85	Bihari Labroo	Anantnag	N.A.	9.5.90
86	Inderjeet		Merchant	10.5.90
87	Gulshan Lal Gulshan	Pulwama	N.A.	-do-
88	Moti Lal	-	-do-	-
89	Rattan Lal	Vill. Khaller	-do-	10.5.90
90	Surinder Kumar	Tulamula	Service	9.5.90
91	Mohan Lal	Anantnag	-do-	-do-
92	Autar Krishan	Badgam	-do-	-do-
93	Chaman Lal		-do-	-do-
94	Daya Krishan Duloo	Srinagar	-do-	-do-
95	Veerji	Badgam	-do-	13.5.90
96	Bushan Lal Kaul	Srinagar	Business	-
97	S.Gudoo Singh		Service	-
98	A.K.Wazir		-do-	-do-
99	Saroop nath	Beru	-do-	3.5.90
100	Vinod Kumar	Natipora Sgr.	-do-	-do-
101	Daya Krishan	Sathoo	-do-	-
102	M.L. Pandita	Tikar (Kupwara)	-do-	27.4.90
103	Amar Nath Bagati	Srinagar	N.A.	11.5.90
104	Autar Krisan	Badgam	Service	14.5.90
105	Sham Lal Sharma	Wanpoh	-do-	17.5.90
106	Bal Raj Suri	Srinagar	Shopkeeper	-do-
107	Manmohan Bhatt	Baramulla	Govt.service	18.5.90
108	Bhushn Lal	Anantnag	Service	17.5.90

S.No.	Name	Address	Profession	Date of Assasination
109	Suresh Kumar	Purshiyar	-do-	-do-
110	Chuni Lal	Habba Kadal	Business	-do-
111	Man Mohan Sharma	Baramulla	Business	21.5.90
112	Pran Nath Bhatt	Anantnag	-do-	-do-
113	Daleep Kumar	Zainapora Anantnag	-do-	-do-
114	Kular Sharma		-do-	16.5.90
115	Prithvi Nath Hakim	Nowgam, Sgr.	Hakim	21.5.90
116	M.L.Raina	Anantnag	Service	20.5.90
117	Moti Lal Raina	Rainawari	-do-	-do-
118	Kidar	Badgam	Telecom Deptt.	-do-
119	Ashok Kumar Pandita	Kulgam Ang.	Govt. service	14.5.90
120	Niranjan Nath	Anantnag	-do-	-do-
121	Kaka Singh (Kidnapped)	Jammu	Service	13.5.90
122	Herbans Singh (Kidnapped)		-do-	28.5.90
123	Ramesh Kumar Raina (Kidnapped)	Srinagar	-do-	2.6.90
124	Jawahar Lal Wanchoo	Rainawari	Govt. service	30.5.90
125	Ramesh Kumar of Jammu	Anantnag	Service	1.6.90
126	Shiban Krishan Kallu	Bagh-i-Mehtab Sgr.	Police Inspector	3.6.90
127	Damodar Raina (Kidnapped)	Kulgam	Retd. Govt. servant	2.6.90
128	Badri Nath	Gosanigund Anantnag	Police	-do-
129	Ishwar Dass	Khannabal	JKAP	11.6.90
130	Bahadur Singh	-do-	-do-	-do-
131	Triloki Nath Bhat (Dead body Found Near Maharajgunj)	Srinagar	Petition writer	10.6.90

S.No.	Name	Address	Profession	Date of Assasination
132	Kanhaya Lal (Hanged)	Badgam	Service	12.6.90
133	Girija Tikoo	Trehgam, Kupwara	Teacher	4.6.90
134	J.L.Ganjoo	Fateh Kadal Sgr.	-	17.6.90
135	Mrs.J.L. Ganjoo	-do-	-	-do-
136	Chaman Lal	Kawoosa	Teacher	20.5.90
137	A.K.Safaya	Habba Kadal Srinagar	B.Manager J.K. Bank	13.6.90
138	Dayaram Koul S/o S.N.Koul	Srinagar	-	15.6.90
139	Ashok Kumar (body found)	Sopore	Service	15.6.90
140	P.N.Handoo	Srinagar	Asstt. Director Infor. Deptt.	1.4.90
141	Badri Kak	-	-	-
142	Rajinder Kumar Tikoo	Shopian	Shopkeeper	-
143	Maharaj Krishan	Wagora Kupwara	Service	30.6.90
144	Jagan Nath	Bemina Srinagar	31.5.90	-do-
145	Avtar Krishan	Bagh-i-Mehtab, Sgr.	-do-	-do-
146	Shiban Krishan	Baramulla	Business	4.6.90
147	Aftab Ram	Rainawari	Retired Govt. Servant	4.6.90
148	Gokal Nath	Bagh-i-Mehtab	-	4.6.90
149	Raj Kumar Jailkhani	Zero Bridge Sgr.	-	7.6.90
150	Sham Lal	Lal Mandi Sgr.	Shopkeeper	-do-
151	Rajesh Kumar	Rehari Colony	Service	8.6.90
152	Ajaib Singh	Poonch Jammu	Service	8.6.90
153	Triloki Nath	Nandipora Bml.	-do-	11.6.90
154	Pushkar Nath	Dangwachi	-	11.5.90
155	Omkar Nath Raina	Devi Angan Srinagar	Service	-do-
156	Inder Kumar	Gunned down in Natipora	-	11.6.90

S.No.	Name	Address	Profession	Date of Assasination
157	Kanahya Lal	Maharaj Gunj, Srinagar	Service	11.5.90
158	Radha Krishan Patwari	Turoo, Anantnag	Patwari	6.6.90
159	Ramesh Kumar Raina	Habba Kadal	Service	7.6.90
160	Raghu Nath	Pulwama	-	14.6.90
161	Ram Chad	Handwara	Service	15.6.90
162	Desh Raj	Hari Singh High Street	-	16.6.90
163	Kanahya Lal Bhatt	Badgam	-	11.6.90
164	Saroop Nath	-	-	-do-
165	Gopi Chand	Kupwara	-	17.6.90
166	Sanjay Thusoo	Nowgam Sgr.	-	22.6.90
167	Bal Krihan Tutoo	Habba Kadal Sgr.	-	-do-
168	Bal Krishan	Srinagar	Service	-do-
169	Ashwani Kumar Gariyali		-	24.6.90
170	Ashok Kumar	Khankah-i-Sokhta	-do-	23.6.90
171	G.N.Raina	Srinagar	Joint Director Sericulture	26.6.90
172	Satish Kumar	Ganderbal	Service	-do-
173	Brij Lal Rana	Dambi Dola Ang.	Ret. Govt. servant	-do-
174	Jia Lal Kaw (Kidnapped)	Handwara	-	-do-
175	Shiban Kaul	-	Service	11.7.90
176	Yogesh Kumar (Killed in Rambagh)	Srinagar	-	26.6.90
177	Babli Bhan	Drusu Pulwama	Housewife	1.7.90
178	Roopwati (Mother-in-law-of Babli)	-do-	-do-	-do-
179	Teja Dhar	Ali Kadal Sringar	-	-do-
180	Raj Nath Dhar	-do-	Service	-do-
181	Girija Dhar	-do-	-do-	-do-
182	**Dina Nath**	**-do-**	-do-	-do-

S.No.	Name	Address	Profession	Date of Assasination
183	Badri Nath Wattal	Rainawari Sgr.	Service	26.6.90
184	Chaman Nath Kaul (Kidnapped & Killed)	Srinagar	Service	24.6.90
185	Rattan Lal Halli	-	-	-
186	Som Nath	Patlipora, Chattabal Sgr.	-	24.6.90
187	Ram Chand	-	-	-do-
188	Inder Kumar	Natipora	-	-do-
189	Sansar Chand	Baramulla	-	-
190	Shamboo Nath	-do-	-	30.6.90
191	Prof. N.K.Kaul	Khankah-i-Sokhta	Service	1.7.90
192	Sridhar Joo	-	-	-do-
193	Triloki Nath	Baramulla	-	-
194	Predman Krishan	Kokernag Ang.	-	2.7.90
195	Arandatti	Batyar Srinagar	-	-do-
196	Mohan Lal (Kidnapped)	Harwan Sgr.	-	3.7.90
197	Arjan Nath	Shopian	-	-do-
198	Makhan Lal	Srinagar	-	-do-
199	Suraj Prakash	-	-	
200	Hari Krishan S/o Ganga Nath	Uri Bml.	-	6.7.90
201	Jawahar Lal	Harwan Sgr.	-	
202	Satish Kumar	Baramulla	-	
203	Dina Nath Muju	Rawalpora Sgr.	-	7.7.90
204	Gopi Nath Kangan	Ganderbal	-	8.7.90
205	Autar Krishan	Hawal, Srinagar	-	
206	Suraj Prakash	Rainawari Sgr.	-	
207	Gauri Shanker	Baramulla	-	9.7.90
208	Shiban Kaul	Tangmarg	JKAP	
209	Piaray Krishan	Rainawari Sgr.	C.I.D.	
210	Inder Krishan	Mahjoor Nagar Sgr.	-	10.7.90
211	Kuldeep Chand	Natipora		

S.No.	Name	Address	Profession	Date of Assasination
212	Nana Jee	Batmaloo Sgr.	-	11.7.90
213	Nanak Chad	-	-	-do-
214	Shankar Nath	Shopian	Business	
215	Raghu Nath Singh	Tral Pulwama	Service	11.7.90
216	Kameshwar Lal	Anantnag	CRPF	12.7.90
217	Roshan Kumar Sadak			
218	Sultan Singh	Khoja Bagh Bml	-	14.7.90
219	Jiwan Lal	Rainawari Sgr.	-	15.7.90
220	Radha Krishan Kaul	Ashiji Ang.	-	16.7.90
221	Raman Kumar Razdan	Srinagar	-	22.7.90
222	Shiban Lal Kaul	Srinagar	-	16.7.90
223	Inder Kumar	Natipora Sgr.	-	-do-
224	Anand Narayan	Bachru Anantnag	-	17.7.90
225	Mrs. Sohini Sumbli (Burnt alive)	Karan Nagar Sgr.	Doctor	18.7.90
226	Durlabh Singh	Qazigund Ang.	Driver	-do-
227	Chan Ram Khar	Damjan Ang.	Service	-do-
228	Hansraj Suri	Naidyar Sgr.	-	20.7.90
229	S.S. Abrol	Kokernag Ang.	Service	-do-
230	Roop Raj	Budgam	-do-	22.7.90
231	Janki Nath	Sumbal	-do-	26.7.90
232	Ved Lal	Sopore	Principal	-do-
233	Nath Jee	Kharbrari Ang.	Service	-do-
234	Mahesh Kumar	-	-	30.7.90
235	Autar Singh	-	-	29.7.90
236	Adarsh Jee	Baramulla	-	-do-
237	GawriShanker	Anantnag	-	-do-
238	Bharat Singh	Jammu	-	-do-
239	Omkar Nath Matoo	Uragbal Pampore	-	30.7.90
240	Sundri Lal	Kangan Sgr.	-	-do-
241	Naknath Giri Sadhu	Manzgam Ang.	-	31.7.90

S.No.	Name	Address	Profession	Date of Assasination
242	Virender Kumar Suri	Mandir Bagh Srinagar	-	-do-
243	Jia Krishan Bhan	Dribiyar Sgr.	Principal	2.8.90
244	Jawahar Lal	Tral Pulwama	-	3.8.90
245	Gian Chad	Kishtwar	-	4.8.90
246	Dheeraj Dhar	Chhanapara	-	-do-
247	R.K.Handoo	Rainawari Sgr.	MES	9.8.90
248	D.N. Chowdhary	Indira Nagar Sgr.	Manager Cement factory	11.8.90
249	Arjan Nath	Shalipora Budgam	-	9.8.90
250	Manoj Kumar	Kupwara	-	10.8.90
251	Saroop Narayan	Pattan Bml.	-	-do-
252	Tarlok Cand	Achabal Ang.	-	11.8.90
253	Vasudev Pandit	Rahama	-	-do-
254	Roshan Lal Chowdary	Rainawari Sgr.	-	11.8.90
255	Darshan Kaul	Kokernag Ang.	-	15.8.90
256	Mheshwar Nath	Lolab Kup.	-	16.8.90
257	Madan Mohan	Sopore	-	17.8.90
258	Baljeet Kour		-	17.8.90
259	Rattan Lal Raina	Rainawari	JK Bank	18.8.90
260	Shaker Nath Tikko	Wadwan	-	21.8.90
261	Shaker Nath Tikoo	Wadwan	-	21.8.90
262	Chand Ram	Badgam	-	-do-
263	R.K.Kaul	Nai Sarak Sgr.	T.E.O	24.8.90
264	B.L.Kak	Natipora	-	26.8.90
265	Gopal Ram	Kokernag Ang.	-	-do-
266	Bansi Lal	Dal Hassanyar Sgr.	-	29.8.90
267	Hari Singh	Anantnag	Govt. Service	30.8.90
268	Mahesh Chander	-do-	-do-	-do-
269	Omkar Nath	Baramulla	-	-do-
270	Manja Ram	Khanyar Sgr.	-	-do-
271	Baldev singh	-do-	-	-do-
272	Manoj Kumar	-do-		-do-

S.No.	Name	Address	Profession	Date of Assasination
273	Babli Raina (Gang raped in presence of relatives)	Sopore	-	Aug. 90
274	Preduman Krishan	Anantnag	Not Known	9.9.90
275	Hridey Nath S/o Madhusudan.	Wuyan Pulwama	-	
276	Gauri Shakar S/o Madhusudan	Ganderbal	-	10.9.90
277	Girija Jee	-do-	-	-do-
278	Triloki Nath S/o Aftab Ram	Anantnag	-	11.9.90
279	Sham Singh	Batmaloo Sgr.	-	12.9.90
280	Narender Singh	-do-	-	-do-
281	Ramesh Kumar Bhatt	Khrew Pulwama	-	12.9.90
282	B.L.Kak		Asst. Exec. Engg.	
283	Gopal Krishan	Mandir Bagh Sgr.	-	26.9.90
284	Ramesh Marhata	Sonwar Srinagar	-	-do-
285	Ranjit Singh	Sopore	Driver	28.9.90
286	Bihari Lal	Kishtwar	-	2.10.92
287	Prof. D. P. Khazanchi	Kani Kadal Srinagar	-	5.10.90
288	Jagan Nath	Bhagatpura, Handwara	-	9.10.90
289	P.N. Razdan	Khanmoh Sringar	-	12.10.90
290	Shibenji Khurdi	Ali Kadal, Srinagar	-	14.10.90
291	Mrs. Usha Jee	-do-	-	-do-
292	Mrs.Neeta Jee	-do-	-	-do-
293	Rajinder Kaul	-do-	-	-do-
294	Prem Nath	-	-	17.10.90
295	Dwarika Nath	Moripora Anantnag	-	13.9.90
296	Autar Krishan	Chowalgam Ang.	-	14.9.90
297	Rattan Lal Pandit	Srinagar	-	16.9.90
298	Suresh Gupta	Maisuma, Srinagar	-	17.9.90
299	Mubash Singh	Anantnag	-	19.9.90

S.No.	Name	Address	Profession	Date of Assasination
300	Man Mohan Singh Sodi	-do-	Shopkeeper	21.12.90

SELECT LIST OF UNIDENTIFIED BODIES OF HINDUS WHO HAVE BEEN BRUTALLY KILLED BY TERRORISTS IN KASHMIR

S.No.	Details	Area where body found	Date
1-5	Two women & three men (molested, blood drained, no mark of bullet, only cutmarks on arm veins)	Jhelum (Sopore)	27.1.90
6	One man (face burnt, bullet riddled, Nizam-e-Mustafa engraved on thigh)	Khanyar Srinagar	30.1.90
7-10	Four young men (blood drained, defaced by torture)	Chanpora Srinagar	5.2.90
11-13	Two men & one woman (bullet riddled, JKLF posters hanging from necks)	Badgam Bus Stand	15.2.90
14	One girl (molested, rope tied)	Fished from Jhelum, near Bijbehra	17.2.90
15-19	Five young men (eyes gouged, broken bones JKLF-AAZADI engraved on face)	Village Aishmuqam, Anantnag	14.3.90
20-21	Man & woman (bullet riddled)	Baramulla (behind college)	26.3.90
22	One man (haging from tree, JKLF poster around his neck)	Vecharnag (road side) Sringar.	3.4.90
23	One man (bullet riddled body)	Ratnipura, Pulwama	7.4.90
24-26	Two old men & an old woman (strangulated to death)	Abandoned house in Karfali Mohalla Srinagar	8.4.90
27	One woman (gang raped, aazadi painted on forehead)	Soura Institute Area, Srinagar	18.4.90

S.No.	Details	Area where body found	Date
28	One boy (cut to pieces, "Pundits leave or face death" JKLF writing alongwith trunk)	Outside, Tyndal Biscoe School, Srinagar	24.4.90
29-31	Three men (blood drained, mutilated bodies)	Hyderpora, apple orchard	26.4.90
32	One woman, bullet riddled	Kupwara	1.5.90
33	One man, bullet riddled	Tulamula Sgr.	9.5.90
34	One old man (strangulated) "Leave Govt. schools & join Islamic schools" chits in his pocket)	Village Aakura (school)	12.5.90
35	One old man (bullet riddled)	Old Airport Srinagar	18.5.90
36	One young woman (bullet riddled)	Kawdara Srinagar	26.5.90
37-38	Two girls (tortured)	Safa Kadal Srinagar	27.5.90
39	One old man (strangulated, JKLF engraved on left arm)	Drabiyar Srinagar	28.5.90
40-41	Man & woman (thrown on road side and nailed at the tilak mark)	Batmalu Srinagar	28.5.90
42	One yong man (eyes gouged, bullet riddled)	Rainawari Srinagar	-do-
43	One man half burnt	Nawa Kadal women's college, Srinagar	29.5.90
44	One woman (raped, cut to pieces)	Sopore	30.5.90
45-46	One boy & one girl (blood drained, Nizam-e-Mustafa engraved on foreheads)	Behind J & K Bank Anantnag	3.6.90
47-51	Five male bodies (hands tied)	Fished from Jehlum, near Srinagar	11.6.90
52-56	Five decomposed bodies (torture marks)	Fished from Jehlum	12.6.90
57-59	Three young men hanging in an orchard, JKLF posters around their necks.	Kulgam (Anantnag)	15.6.90
60-61	Two men strangulated, threatening letters on behalf of Hizb-ul-Mujahideen in pockets	Badgam & Kupwara	24.6.90

S.No.	Details	Area where body found	Date
62	One man (hanged)	Pulwama	10.7.90
63	One man (bullet riddled)	Badgam	11.7.90
64	One man stabbed to death (threatening letter from JKLF in pocket)	Srinagar	1.8.90
65	One young man (dead body)	Khannabal	29.7.90
66	One man (dead body)	Kupwara	-do-
67-71	Five male bodies drowned)	Fished near Baramulla from Jehlum	15.8.90
72-73	One male & one female (decomposed bodies)	Behind Soura Institute Srinagar	27.8.90
74	One girl molested & stabbed	Baramulla	7.9.90
75-77	Three male bodies (hands & legs tied to stones)	Fished from river at Sumbal Srinagar	17.9.90
78-81	Four boys (bullet riddled)	General Bus Stand Batmaloo Srinagar	22.9.90
82	One woman (cut to pieces)	Highway, near Chowgal, Kupwara	30.9.90
83-85	One man, one woman & one girl child (bullet riddled in their house; JKLF painted on the walls)	Ali Kadal Srinagar	2.10.90
86	One boy (veins cut on arm & left ankle; drained to death)	Sanat Nagar Srinagar	10.10.90
87-90	Three men and women	Bodies fished from Dal Lake Sgr.	20.04.90
91-92	Two boys (Bullet riddled)	Anantnag	27.04.90

Annexure VII

The Inhuman Rights

1. **Satish Tikoo**, a young Kashmiri Pandit was murdered near his house in Habba Kadal on Feb 2,1990. Early in the morning two Muslim youths, whom he apparently knew, called at his residence. His sister responded to the call. Sensing something sinister, she told the visitors that Satish was not at home. They went away but lurked around in the adjacent lanes. After a while, Tikoo's sister mentioned to him about the youth who had come to see him. He reprimanded his sister for being extra suspicious. He could not imagine that someone had planned to kill him. Tikoo was a social worker, an activist, who helped the people of his community secure redressal of their grievances and was equally popular amongst the Hindu and Muslim youth of the locality. Satish stepped out of the house and peeped into the adjoining lanes and by-lanes. In a moment. a dreadful pistol-shot was heard. The family rushed out. They found Tikoo in a pool of blood, motionless.

2. On February 12,1990 an official of the Intelligence Bureau, **M.L.Bhan**, was murdered. Bhan in accordance with general instructions of the security forces stayed in his office campus but he was concerned about his parents and decided to visit them in the downtown Srinagar. On the morning of February 12, while he was returning to his office, someone came close to him, walked alongside for two or three minutes and took out a pistol from under his 'phiren' and shot upward from underneath Bhan's armpit into his neck, blasting his mouth and head. Bhan was wearing a bullet-proof jacket. The killer, obviously, knew it. That was why he avoided shooting into the chest and adopted the strategy of walking shoulder to shoulder and shooting through the neck upward, ensuring his instantaneous death.

3. **Lassa Kaul**, Director Doordarshan Kendra, Srinagar was ruthlessly shot dead on February 13,1990. Being confined to his office for days together for security reasons, Kaul, on that fateful evening, decided to visit his old and infirm father in Bemina to reassure them that all was fine. As he alighted from his car and walked a few yards towards his residence, terrorists stopped him and shot him just as he was entering his house. Kaul had stayed in his office on the night of february 11 and 12. Having come to know that he was likely to return to his home on the evening of februry 13, to meet his handicapped father who was living there alone, his family having gone to Delhi earlier, two assassins hid themselves near his house in Bemina. It is said that Kaul was killed on the instructions of Amanullah Khan. Apparently, the assassins were waiting for him as they knew that he had left office at about 7 p.m.

Someone from Kaul's office was in touch with the assassins directly or through some intermediary. Kaul had incurred the wrath of terrorists by showing television programmes which the latter termed as un-Islamic and forming part of what was labelled as cultural aggression by India . He had also tried to assert himself in the office . Quit a few of his subordinates were acting at the behest of terrorists, either out of fear or by way of connivance. Some of the news and pictures telecast were dictated by terrorists. Kaul's attempt to check and correct the distortion cost him his life.

4. **Navin Saproo**, 30, of Habba Kadal, Srinagar, a Central Govt employee was killed on 27-2-1990. Navin was returning from his office when, near Kanya Kadal, terrorists sprayed him with bullets in broad day-light and in full view of passersby. He fell down but was still breathing. A Hindu woman, who happened to be there, frantically pleaded with terrorists to spare the young man's life. She was pushed back. Dancing around him in glee, they shot at him over and over again avoiding the vital organs just to prolong his agony as he bled profusely. For terrorists the sadism was yet to come. Even as the wailing relatives of the young man took away his body in a police van, terrorists followed in a truck right up to the cremation ground, dancing and singing all the way. The singing and dancing continued till his body was reduced to ashes.

5. **Brijnath Shah**, 55, of Kupwara was killed on April 27,1990.Shah had his name tattooed on his forearm. But before killing him it had been erased. Even the flesh at the spot had been peeled off. His mouth had been stitched and he was strangulated. There was a rope around his neck till the last. Shah was kidnapped on April 26,1990 at 10 p.m. The body was found the next day.

6. **Bhushan Lal Raina** of Ompora (Budgam) worked in Sher-i-Kashmir Medical Institute. Scared by terrorists violence in the Valley, Raina had finally decided to leave Kashmir along with his mother. He wanted to leave on April 29 and started packing his belongings a day earlier. While he was busy, a group of terrorists gatecrashed into his house. Seeing them, the aged mother of Raina implored them to spare the life of her son as he was about to be married. "They could kill her instead", she pleaded. But they would not listen to her. With a sharp pointed iron rod, they pierced his skull. They dragged him out and nailed him to a tree after stripping off his clothes. While he begged to be shot, they killed him sadistically. The fateful day was 28-4-1990.

7. **Surinder Raina**, 20, of Tulamulla, Kashmir was killed on May 9,1990. Raina had not come home for two nights. He was a lift operator in the Soura Medical Institute. His family started getting panicky because he used to be out for only one night at a time, for his duty. On May 10, they received a message through the CRPF about his murder. He had been killed with three bullets, one in the shoulder, the other in the heart and third in the arm.

8. **Chaman Lal Pandita**, a teacher at Kawoosa Khalisa, Budgam, was kidnapped on Sunday 20.5.90 at 9.15 a.m. Next day he was found dead. Pandita had been hanged to death. But before that he had been beaten. His body bore the marks. There was dust even in his nails indicating that he must have struggled. Previously, Pandit's muslim neighbours had discouraged him from leaving. They had promised protection. Some had even gone to the extent of saying that they would sacrifice their children to protect the family. But at the time of need, nobody came forward.

9. **Dileep Kumar**, 29, of Zainapora. Mujmarg, was killed by terrorists. His dentures were broken. Twelve bullets had been pumped into his body. Then he was hung from a tree with a letter, pinned on his chest. The letter said that anyone who dared touch the body would be given an award of rupees one lakh. He had been kidnapped on May 19, 1990 at 8.30 p.m. by five gunmen. On May 21, the Police performed the cremation after recovering his body.

10. **Bharat Bhushan Kaul** of Om pora, Budgam was killed on May 27,1990. Kaul was to be married on June 20 in Jammu. Terrorists stufffed his mouth with a cloth and strangulated him. Then his body was hung from a tree with an attached slip. The slip announced one lakh rupees to the person who dared remove the body. Bharat Bhushan's family were to travel to Jammu on May 27 at 3.45 a.m. They had loaded luggage into a truck the previous night at 11.30 p.m. Then they retired for the night. At 12.30 their door was knocked. Terrorists barged in. Bharat's mother was still asleep. She was woken up and slapped. Then all of them were huddled into a room with their hands-up. Four gunmen stood guard in the four corners of the room till the dawn. The family member weren't allowed to move or to talk. Then they took Bharat Bhushan away at gun point. And the next thing the family heard was that he was hung from a tree near the river bank. Kaul had also applied for leave earlier as he was working in the Soura Medical Institute. But it is alleged that Dr. Zahoor, the director, of the Institute had refused the leave and asked him to resign instead.

11. **Ramesh Kumar Raina**, 27, was killed in Rainawari, Srinagar. He has left behind two children, two young sisters and aged parents. He ran a small shop repairing stoves etc. Raina was kidnapped on May 28, 1990. On June 1, his body was fished out from the Jhelum. His family came to know about it through the news papers. Before dumping his body into the river he had been strangulated.

12. **Damodar Saroop Raina**, 65, of Damb-Dulloo (Frisal Anantnag) a retired Govt. employee was killed on 2.6.1990. At the dead of the night terrorists came to his house. He tried to avoid meeting them. His wife pleaded with them that he was not in the house. But they forced their way and searched the entire

house. Finding the old man hiding in a corner in the top floor room. they dragged him out, ignoring the heart rending pleas of his wife. They took no heed of her wailing. She cried for help from the Muslim neighbours but they just stood staring stone faced from their homes. And refused to come to her aid. After such kidnapping no one saw Raina alive.

13. **Autar Krishan Safaya**, a bank officer, was killled in his house in Srinagar, on June 13,1990. Safaya was shot in temple, chest and abdomen as he was coming out of his house. They had planned to liquidate the whole family. But since only he was coming out, he was the only casualty. Nobody helped the family in distress, not even the muslim neighbours who had promised safety. And these were their assurances which had encouraged Safaya to risk staying back along with his family. Similarly, the local police was unhelpful. It was even greater problem to carry him to the hospital, only to be greeted there by the inhuman medical staff who were hand in glove with terrorists. The family members had to shell out rupees 50 for getting even the post-mortem done! Safaya was only 40-year-old with a promising career ahead. And he is survived by a young widow who is unemployed and two minor daughters. Safaya was an officer in the J&K Bank. Colleagues of his bank did not have the courtesy of even expressing the condolence, let alone providing relief or compensation.

14. Terrorists killed **Balkrishan Tutoo** 48, in Shashiyar, Habbakadal. Srinagar, on June 22,1990. It was a Friday. Five terrorists knocked at Tutoo's door. One came in. As he tried to take out a pistol, Balkrishan grappled with him. By that time other terrorists also came in and Tutoo was shot. His family members cried for help. Their cries must have been heard all over the locality. But not even next door neighbours came to their rescue though the same muslim neighbours had prevented them from leaving, promising security even at the cost of their own lives. In fact Tutoo was not killed so much by the bullets as by the apathy of the doctors of SMHS Hospital. When he was taken to the hospital with two bullets in his body, the doctors did not even attend. Instead they preferred to gossip and smoke cegarettes.

15. **Ashwani Kumar Garyali** of Chattabal, Srinagar was killed on June 24, 1990. Five persons came into his house looking for him. After some conversation, Garyali was shot in the forehead and chest while his friend Ashok Kumar Kotha was killed on the spot. His father somehow escaped to the police station for getting a vehicle for transporting his bleeding son to the hospital who was still alive. But the area SHO was callous and even sarcastically taunted. "Should we get a helicopter for your son?" At the Soura hospital the family donated three units of blood for transfusion. All along, the doctors told them to take it easy. Hours later Ashwani died. With great difficulty the family managed to get the body without post-mortem, as they didn't want the body to be mutilated further. In the bargain they had to pay Rs. 100 for this 'favour'

Cremation too was messed up as even the fire-wood was not provided.

16. **Chaman Lal Kaul,** a J&K Industries employee, was killed on June 24, 1990. It was within five minutes of killing of A.K. Garyali. The five persons (who killed Garyali and Kotha) struck at Chhatabal, Putlipura. They kidnapped Chaman Lal Kaul and Somnath Raina. The latter was an employee of Water Works Department. On Monday, the 25th, their bodies bore multiple injuries as a result of stabbing. But their death was caused by strangulation. Kaul has left behind his widow and three children who are, today, on the verge of starvation.

17. **B.L. Raina,** 35, of Dambe Dullo(Frisal Anantang),son of Damodar Swaroop Raina, was out of the Valley. But he went back on hearing the news of the kidnapping of his father. For 25 days the family members waited with the security forces guarding him, his family and the other relatives who had come from Jammu after hearing the news of kidnapping of Swaroop. On June 26 police told them that it was futile to wait as there was no chance of his recovery, dead or alive. Accompained by a posse of security men, the family was sent in a vehicle to Jammu. Raina accompained them up to Quzigund leaving behind his wife and two children in his native village. After the other members of the family were safely despatched, he returned to Anantnag and then to his village inspite of the warning of the police that there was danger and he should also move to Jammu. But he could not do so for he had left his family at Dambe Dullo. Just a killometer from his home, his vehicle was ambushed by terrorists and Raina was killed on 26.6.1990. So within a span of 23 days,two members of the family — father and son — fell victims to terrorists.

18. **Dina Nath Mujoo,** 75, of Rawalpora was a retired govt. employee. An educationist, a social worker and a deeply religious man, Mujoo lived in his Rawalpora house along with his wife. He refused to leave Kashmir inspite of the pleadings of his son in Delhi. Mujoo beleived in the philosophy of J. Krishnamurthy who, whenever he came to India, would find Mujoo attending his lectures. Of late, he had been attending the discourses of the world renowned authority on Shaivism, Swami Lakshmanjoo at Nishat, near Srinagar. This, perhaps, proved to be the old man's undoing. And on the night of July 7, a couple of terrorists entered his house scaling the wall with a ladder. It was dead of the night and the old couple were sleeping. They were, however, shaken out of their slumber and the agony that followed is hard to imagine. It was on 7.7.1990 when the aged Mujoo was tortured to death.

19. **Ashok Kumar,** 30 of Pulwama was kidnapped by Jamaat-i-Islami terrorists. The kidnappers broke his limbs and then brought him to the main square of the town. There he was forced to confess being a member of the CPI(M). He was then asked to beg for mercy which he did. Even then terrorists did not let

him off. They gouged out his eyes and shot him dead.

20. **Ashok Suri** of Kralpora was a driver. He used to carry newspapers to the Western Bus Stand from Lal Chowk, Srinagar. On the fateful day, he was kidnapped by terrorists on the way to Srinagar. They severly tortured him and his body bore the marks of cigarette-butts. They attacked Ashok Suri with a sharp edged weapon slashing his neck and then left him to die.

21. **Anil Bhan,** a Bank Officer, was kicked out from the crowd and then bullets were sprayed into his body on the morning of 16.2.90, while purchasing vegetables at Habba Kadal. He was mistaken for a LIC officer, also a social worker of repute who had incurred wrath of terrorist for exposing terrorists.

22. **Sunil Kotru**, a teenager of Rainawari, Srinagar, was, on 22.4.1990, basking in the sun in the lawns of his house. Few AK-47 wielders gatecrashed into the walled premises where master Kotru was sitting, and fired upon him mercilessly.

23. Brij Nath Kaul of Herman Shopian, a driver in Agriculture University Shalimar, Srinagar, was kidnapped from his house along with his wife Mrs Sumitra Devi. Kaul was tied by his legs on one end of a rope and the other end with the jeep in which terrorists were travelling. They drove the vehicle for about 30 kms and when satisfied that Kaul had died they left his body at Cheka Hajan on Kulgam—Shopian Road. His wife Sumitra Devi was also done to death after molestation.

24. Mrs. Sheela Tikoo R/o Dalhasanyar, Srinagar, was shot dead on 1.11.89 while crossing the Habba Kadal Bridge on her way to home.

25. Brij Nath Shah, 55, of Kupwara was killed by strangulation. 'His name which was tattooed on his forearm had been erased by peeling off the flesh',narrated his nephew Chand Jee Bhatt.

26. Bansi Lal Saproo, 43, of Gulab Bagh, Srinagar was killed on 24.4.1990. He was going out of the compound of his house when suddenly few persons appeared before him who took him along to his orchard. They were talking for some time and soon after his family members heard gun shots. When they rushed to the spot they found him dead with bullet wounds on his head. 'He has left behind his young wife and two little children', narrated his elder brother Pushkar Nath.

27. Mohan Lal of Gund Chekopora, Badgam was gunned down on 4.5.1990 at about 6.30 p.m. He and his wife Mrs. Mohini Jee were returning home after visiting the nearby house of a friend. On the road some masked gun men fired upon Mohan Lal. His wife fell unconscius on hearing the gun shots and seeing her husband slain.

28. Man Mohan Singh 'Sodhi' of Anantnag was killed on 21.12.1990. He was a Photostat shop owner. Sodhi's body was found on the main chowk of Anantnag.

29. Neel Kanth Raina was killed on 30.6.1990. A retired professor, he was leading his life in academic pursuits. He had prolonged his stay in the Valley, despite many threats, with the hope that the situation will improve. But he fell victim to the bullets of the fundamentalist terrorists at Safa Kadal, Srinagar.

30. Ashok Kumar, 30, of Pulwama was kidnapped by the armed terrorists. They broke his limbs and then took him out on the main chowk of the road. He begged them for mercy. Terrorists gauged his eyes and threw him dead on the road.

31. Daya Krishen Duloo, a retired Govt. employee of Chanpora, Nai Sarak, Srinagar, was, in the morning of 12.5.1990, shot dead by muslim terrorists in the lane of his house while he was going out to fetch vegetables from the market.

32. Prediman Krishen Bhatt of Tregham was kidnapped on 28.4.90 from his home and later his body was found mutilated by sharp edged weapon injuries.

33. Raman Kumar Razdan of Naidyar Rainawari, Srinagar, was kidnapped on 22.7.1990. Two days later his body was found floating in canal connecting the Dal Lake.

34. Krishan Gopal Chauhan(U.P.) a Central Govt. employee was gunned down near his house on the Beeu Badgam road while he was accompaning his child to school.

35. Autar Krishan of Pulwama was kidnapped and tortured for many days by cigarette burns and peeling of skin by pliers. The captors when tired, ripped open his abdomen and threw him on the road. He was lifted from there by the patrolling police party and hospitalised in Army hospital.

36. Ramesh Kumar Bhatt of Shopian was kidnapped from the SMHS hospital Srinagar where he had gone for a check up. Terrorists broke one of his legs and inflicted burns by cigarettes, cut his tongue and then threw him on the river bed. He regained consciousness there and was rescued by the CRPF personnel. He has been physically disabled.

37. Radha Krishan Razdan of Chattabal, Srinagar, was kidnapped and taken blind folded by terrorists at about 7 p.m. on 4.7.1990. The kidnappers fleeced him with a plastic — insulated telephone wire till late night. Razdan fell unconscious and the next morning he found himself floating in water near the Vier

gate on the river Vitasta(Jhelum). He crawled towards the road from where one BSF party lifted and hospitalised him to heel burns and wounds inflicted by sharp edged weapons. Two months later his family came to know about his survival.

38. Man Mohan Bhatt (Sharma) of Qazi Hamam, Baramulla, an employee of post office was invited by some muslim friends for a cup of tea in a nearby shop at around 11.30 a.m. on 18-5-90. At about 5 p.m. the same day his body was thrown from a vehicle on the road near SBI building Baramulla. He had many injuries on his arms and knee caps. His joints were broken in addition to bullet injuries.

39. Miss Babli, a student, of Drusu (Pulwama) was kidnapped from her home along with her mother Mrs.Roopwati on 1.7.1990. The bodies of both were found on the road of the village the next morning. Both had been molested and strangulated.

40. Four Persons in a house at Bana Mohalla, Srinagar were killed by terrorists who intruded in the house of Jawahar Lal Ganjoo on 18.6.1990. Terrorists killed Ganjoo along with his wife Mrs. Prana. Another couple Badri Kaul and Durga Kaul who too were in the same house, was also gunned down by the terrorists.

41. A.K.Raina. Dy. Director, Food & Supplies (incharge Laddakh) was killed on 20.3.1990 in his office chamber at Srinagar, by muslim fundamentalists. Raina fell into a pool of blood for hours together in his own office.

42. Triloki Nath Bhatt (petition writer) of Srinagar, was kidnapped on 10.6.1990 and after 2 days his body was found with many iron rod marks and blisters, on the road near S.R. Runj, Srinagar.

43. Kanhaya Lal Bhatt of Badgam, was kidnapped from his house on 11.6.1990. Next day his dead body was found in the vicnity of his home.

44. Jia Lal Kaw of Handwara was kidnapped along with his minor son on 18.5.1990. On 25th of June 1990. Their bodies were found with multiple injuries and tied together.

45. P.N. Handoo, Asstt. Director, Information was gunned down near his house at Bal Garden, Srinagar, on 1.3.1990, while he was boarding vehicle for his office.

46. Ved Lal Ganjoo, Principal, Govt. Degree College, Sopore, was killed by terrorists in his office chamber on 26.7.1990 in the college premises.

47. Mrs. D.R. Sawhney was burnt alive in her house on 18.7.1990.

48. T.K. Razdan was shot dead on 12-2-90 near Gowkadal, Srinagar by terrorists and then his dead body was dragged through streets upto a mosque near Sathoo and kept for display there.

49. Bhushan Lal Raina, employee of the Sher-i-Kashmir Medical Institute, Soura, Srinagar, was killed on 28.4.90 by hitting on his skull with a rod. While receiving torture by slapping and hitting on vital parts, the victim had requested the to short at him instead of torturing him. But terrorists said that they would not waste a costly bullet on a 'kafir'(infidel). They dragged him and nailed him to a tree after stripping his clothes.

Annexure VIII

LIST OF PROPERTY DAMAGE OF HINDUS / MINORITY COMMUNITY IN KASHMIR FROM JANUARY, 1990 TILL MARCH 9, 1993

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
1.	3/4.1.90	House	Brij Nath Kaul	Soomburns, Anantnag
2.	4.1.90	House	Sucha Singh	Kant Bagh, Baramulla
3.	9.1.90	House	Tirloki Nath Pandit	Bendipora, Baramulla
4.	12.1.90	House	Pushakar Nath s/o Daya Ram	Kanli Bagh, Baramulla
5.	15.1.90	2 shops	Janak Singh s/o Karan Singh	Palapora, Anantnag
6.	20.1.90	House	Narayan Nath Jed	Nazuk Mohalla, Anantnag
7.	21/22.1.90.	House	Kashi Nath Som Nath	Hardetooru, Anantnag
8.	22.1.90	House	Prem Nath	Sopore, Baramulla
9.	24/25.1.90	House	Kashi Nath Som Nath	Nardetooru, Anantnag
10.	18.2.90	Quarter	Session Judge	Ghowalagam, Anantnag
11.	22.2.90	House	Sham Lal s/o Shooder Lal	Ghowalgam, Anantnag
12.	1.4.90	House	Kanya Lal Kaul, Shanti Kaul	Safapora, Baramulla
13.	8.4.90	House	Govind Ram	Rajbali Check, Anantnag
14.	13.4.90	House	Bansi Lal	Bundevsher, Anantnag

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
15.	17.4.90	House	Raj Nath s/o Bhagwan Dass	Main Chowk, Baramulla
16.	21/22.4.90	House	Ved Lal	Wagoora, Baramulla
17.	24/25.4.90	House	Radha Krishan s/o Mangat Ram	Kali Bagh, Baramulla
18.	9.5.90	House	Tek Lal s/o Genesh	Aishmuqam, Anantnag
19.	25.5.90	House Cow Shed	Pushkar Nath and Pyara Lal s/o Triloki Nath	Matipora, Anantnag
20.	7.6.90	Kothar	Tara Chand s/o Sansari Chand	Chogaon, Anantnag
21.	26.6.90	House	Serwand s/o Prashad Ram	Khayar, Anantnag,
22.	12.7.90	House	Thakur Dalip Singh	Baramulla
23.	17.7.90	House	Jaggar Nath	Nanak Bhawan, Baramulla
24.	27.7.90	House	Roop Kishan s/o Prem Nath	Diwan Bagh, Baramulla.
25.	31.7.90	House	Arjun Nath s/o Mahadev Kaul	Kurigan Anantnag
26.	2.8.90	House	Suresh Krishan Kaul s/o Prithvi Nath	Wanpora Anantnag
27.	4.8.90	Shop	Kashi Nath	Qazi Gund, Anantnag
28.	4.8.90	House	Brij Lal s/o Nand Lal	Hera Mohalla, Anantnag
29.	4.8.90	House	Ram Jee s/o Radhe Krishan	Lazibal, Anantnag
30.	15.8.90	House	Ashok Kumar s/o Samboo Nath	Bungam, Mattan, Anantnag

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
31.	15.8.90	House	Math Ram Tikoo s/o Show Ram	-do-
32.	15/16.8.90	Quarter	Session Judge	Vailoo, Anantnag
33.	10.9.90	Hotel	Pappu s/o Cheggu Ram	Qazi Gund, Anantnag
34.	3.9.80	House	Ramesh Kumar Fotedar	Ossam, Baramulla
35.	28.9.90	Gowshed	Prem Nath Kaul s/o Sudershan	Gundgafer, Anantnag
36.	3.10.90	House	Munhar Nath Kaul	Bungam, Baramulla
37.	1.10.90	House	Prithvi Nath	Devabian Baramulla
38.	10.10.90	House	Nand Lal s/o Goppel	Verinag, Anantnag
39.	14.10.90	House	Hakam Lal Raina	Nai Basti, Anantnag
40.	20.10.90	House	Jawahar Lal, Som Nath, Roshan Lal s/o Shyam Lal	Bujbehara, Anantnag
41.	28.10.90	House	Lasimi Nath s/o Gopalji	Mattan, Anantnag
42.	29.10.90	House	Vesh Nath s/o Data jee	Ganjoo Deva, Anantnag
43.	30.10.90	House	Gopi Nath s/o Ganish & Smt. Omashivi	Aishmuqam, Anantnag
44.	30.10.90	House	Kashi Nath s/o Vasu Nath	Mattan, Anantnag
45.	6.11.90	House	Omkar Nath Shyam Lal s/o Neel Kanth	Hangloo Gund, Anantnag
46.	14.11.90	House	Masher Nath	-do-
47.	15.11.90	House	Arjan Nath s/o Nath jee	-do-
48.	21.11.90	Cowshed	Mushiar Goshwami s/o Anand	Kulgam, Anantnag
49.	21.11.90	-do-	Mohan Lal	-do-

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
50.	29.11.90	2 houses	Sarban and Koul s/o Prasad Ram and Krishan Lal Kaul	Rambagh, Srinagar; Chanpora, Srinagar,
51.	-do-	Cowshed	Mohan Lal s/o Varayan Bhat	Kulgam, Anantnag
52.	1.12.90	Shop	Ved Ram s/o Nand Ram Omkar Nath Dhar s/o Krishan Dass	Trisal, Pulwama
53.	28.11.90	3 houses	Tika Lal Achkan, Prem Nath Ganjoo, Prem Nath Matoo	Ban Mohalla, Srinagar
54.	3.12.90	House	Jager Nath Surey	Mohalla Syed Karim, Baramulla
55.	2.12.90	2 houses	Hari Lal and Pushkar Nath s/o Anand Ram	Handwara, Kupwara
56.	3/4/12.90	House Kuthar	Kakaji s/o Late Janki Nath	Gugloos, Kupwara
57.	4/5.12.90	2 houses	Prem Nath Kaul s/o Sudharsan and Gopi Nath s/o Lassa Kaul	Palpora, Trisel, Pulwama
58.	17.12.90	House	Shamboo Nath Raina s/o Nand Lal	Jawharnagar, Srinagar
59.	18.12.90	House	O.N.Watal, Dy SP	Baghi Jogi Lankar Rainawari, Srinagar
60.	25.12.90	House	Poshkar Nath Bajaj s/o Jia Lal Bajaj	Rambagh, Baramulla
61.	25.12.90	Cowshed	Nil Kanth s/o Anand Ram	Handwara, Kupwara

1991

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
1.	5/6.1.91	2 houses	Minority community	Bungund, Verinag, Anantnag
2.	-do-	-do-	-do-	Wadipora & Handwara, Kupwara
3.	8.1.91	House	Shyam Lal Bangroo	Sheshyar, Habba Kadal, Srinagar.
4.	-do-	Temple	—	Anantnag
5.	17.1.91	House	Minority community	Kishtwar, Doda
6.	20.1.91	House	Vikram Kumar	Gogji Bagh, Srinagar
7.	28.1.91	House	Krishan Gour s/o Prem Nath	Brahman Mohalla
8.	2.2.91	Transport Company (Godwon)	Kohli Transport Company	Magharmal Bagh Srinagar
9.	11/12.2.91	House	Tribhuwan Nath s/o Shivji	Tilwani, Chandi Bejbehara, Anantnag
10.	12.2.91	-do-	Bhushan Lal Razdan	Shivpora, Srinagar
11.	11.3.91	House	Prem Nath Wali	Wazir Bagh, Srinagar
12.	20.3.91	-do-	Bansi Lal	Bagat, Srinagar
13.	23.3.91	-do-	Dr. Girdhari Lal Raina	Gooripora, Rawalpora, Srinagar
14.	19/20.4.91	-do-	Gulab Ram s/o Madev Ram	Wanpora, Anantnag
15.	-do-	-do-	Lassa Nath s/o Deena Nath	-do-
16.	30.4..91	7 houses	Minority community	Dalhashanyar, Srinagar.
17.	-do-	9 houses 35 shops	-do-	Dalgate & Zainidar Mohalla, Srinagar

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
18.	7/8.5.91	House	Triloi Nath s/o Sudharshan	Kharmol, Handwara
19.	9.5.91	House	Badri Nath Raina	Malapora, Banna Mohalla, Srinagar
20.	8/9.5.91	House	Dwarki Nath	Bagan, Kulgam Anantnag
21.	18/19.5.91	House	Tej Krishan Kaul	Dudgam
22.	27.5.91	House	Prithavi Nath s/o Sarva Nand	Ganpatyar, Srinagar
23.	-do-	House	Sat Lal Sopari	Srinagar
24.	7.6.91	House	Anil Kaul s/o J.L. Kaul	Rawalpora, Srinagar
25.	-do-	House	Soom Nath s/o Vedh Lal	Manli Bagh, Baramulla
26.	11.6.91	House	Syam Lal Warkoo	Chinkral Mohalla Srinagar
27.	-do-	House	Pushkar Nath Safaya	Habbakadal, Srinagar
28.	-do-	houses	Minority Community	Sheshyar, Habbakadal, Srinagar
29.	13/14.6.91	House	Moti Lal s/o Raghu Nath	Ranlibagh, Baramulla
30.	16.6.91	House	Janki Nath Kak	Nadiyar, Rainawari, Srinagar.
31.	-do-	-do-	Srikanth	-do-
32.	20.6.91	House	Amar Nath Bangru	Babapora, Chinkral Mohall Srinagar
33.	-do-	Hosue	Badri Nath	-do-
34.	26.6.91	House	Hira Lal Jatta	Kanlibagh, Baramulla
35.	-do-	House	Dwarika Nath Jatta	-do-

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
36.	27.6.91	5 houses	Minority Community	Banna Mohalla, Srinagar
37.	28.6.91	2 houses	-do-	Iqbal Colony, Srinagar
38.	1.7.91	3 houses	Roshan Lal, Bhushan Lal, Chunni Lal	Nahama, Wadipora (Handwara)
39.	11.7.91	House	Ratan Lal Zadoo, Bruj Nath Zadoo, Mohan Lal Zadoo	Gund Ahalmar, Srinagar
40.	17/18.7.91	House	Badri Nath	Water Khani P.S.-Kupwara
41.	20.7.91	House	Makhan Lal Kaw	Handwara
42.	20/21.7.91	4 houses 2 kuthars 3 cowshed	Minority Community	Anantnag
43.	24.7.91	Temple	—	Rainawari, Srinagar
44.	26.7.91	House	Moti lal Raina	Badiyar Bala, Srinagar
45.	28.7.91	House	Keshav Lal	Jawahar Nagar, Srinagar
46.	7.8.91	House	Hardey Nath Pandita	Karfali Mohalla, Srinagar
47.	9.8.91	House	Hardey Nath Pandita	Karfali Mohalla, Srinagar
48.	12./13.8.91	House	-do-	Panzer, P.S.-Dooru, Anantnag
49.	2/3.9.91	House	Girdhari lal	Howgam, Srinagar
50.	5/6.9.91	House	Minority Community	Asha Dipora, Anantnag
51.	9.9.91	House	-do-	Krayar, Rainawari, Srinagar
52.	11.9.91	2 houses	-do-	Astanpora, Rawalpora, Srinagar
53.	10.9.91	-do-	-do-	Janglat Mandi, Anantnag

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
54.	14.9.91	House	Pushkar Nath Kaul	Jogilankar, Rainawari, Srinagar
55.	15.9.91	2 houses	Minority Community	Kralyar, Rainwari, Srinagar
56.	-do-	3 houses	-do-	Rajbagh, Srinagar
57.	18.9.91	-do-	-do-	Mugal Mohalla, Rainawari, Srinagar
58.	10.9.91	House	Justice Janki Nath Bhatt	Wazir Bagh, Srinagar
59.	10.9.91	15 Houses	Minority Community	Razdana Kocha, Srinagar
60.	20.9.91	House	-do-	Rawalpora, Srinagar
61.	-do-	House	-do-	Khanabal, Srinagar
62.	22.9.91	House	-do-	Dalkawpora, Choudhary Bagh, Srinagar
63.	23.9.91	House	Amar Nath Matoo	Reshi Mohalla, Srinagar
64.	23/24.9.91	2 houses	Janki Nath Kaul Bhusan Lal Kaul	Barbarshah, Srinagar
65.	22/23.9.91	3 houses Cowshed	Minority Community	Pambay, Anantnag
66.	30.9.91	House	Jitender Kumar Gargoo	Jawahar Nagar, Srinagar
67.	2/3.10.91	2 houses	Minority Community	Srinagar
68.	3/4 .10.91	2 houses 37 shops	-do-	Main Bazar, Kupwara
69.	4.10.91	2 houses	-do-	Downtown, Srinagar
70.	6.10.91	2 houses	-do-	-do-
71.	6.10.91	House	-do-	Sumbal, Baramulla

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
72.	6.10.91	5 houses 15 shops	-do-	Lal Chowk, Srinagar
73.	8.10.91	House	Sital Nath	Bhagwanpora, Srinagar
74.	9.10.91	Temple	—	Baramulla
75.	12.10.91	5 houses	Minority Community	Srinagar city
76.	13/14.10.91	2 houses	Mehraj Krishan s/o Sambhu Nath, Hardyal Nath s/o Sarwa Nand	Gudigushi, Kupwara.
77.	16/17.10.91	House	Ashok Kumar s/o Madan Lal & Mohan Lal Mantoo	New Colony, Sopore, Baramulla
78.	-do-	House	Dwarika Nath Prem Nath	Nai Basti, Sopore
79.	18/19.10.91	2 houses	Sumbu Nath & Nathjee	Damhal, Hanjipora, Anantnag
80.	19/20.10.91	House	Minority Community	Salar, Srinagar
81.	19.10.91	House	Brij Nath & Darooga	Nai Basti, Anantnag
82.	20.10.91	8 houses	Minority Community	Near Janglat Mandi Nnantnag
83.	20/21.10.91	2 houses	Shambhu Nath s/o Samsar Chand & Ashok Kumar	Moti Mohalla, Handwara
84.	22.10.91	House	Surinder Nath Ganjoo	Sheshyar, Habbakadal Srinagar
85.	17/18.10.91	3 houses	Shyam Lal Moti Lal, Brij Lal	Wanpoh, Anantnag
86.	21/22.10.91	3 houses	Makhan Lal, Shadi Lal & Shiban Lal s/o Deena Nath Sharma	Akoora, Anantnag

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
87.	22/23.10.91	5 houses	Minority Community	Mattan, Ganeshpora, Manigam, Anantnag
88.	22.10.91	2 houses	-do-	Baramulla Town
89.	23.10.91	-do-	Shyam Lal Lanagoo Janki Nath Langoo	Shallayar, Banna Mohalla, Srinagar
90.	23.10.91	House	Chaman Lal	Quazi Bagh, Anantnag
91.	24/25.10.91	6 houses	Minority Community	Nazuk Mohalla, Anantnag
92.	-do-	House	Sohan Lal s/o Madan Lal	Mirpora, Salia, Anantnag
93.	25/26.10.91	2 houses	Minority Community	Anantnag Town
94.	-do-	25 kuchha Houses 9 cowsheds 7 shops 10 kuthars 4 cowsheds	-do-	Vill. Sheer Kanil Bagh Shah-i-Hamdan, Anantnag
95.	28.10.91	Few Houses	-do-	Malyar, Ganpatyar, Srinagar
96.	30/31.10.91	House	Gopi Nath s/o Nand Lal	Checkpeth, Anantnag
97.	1.11.91	6 houses	—	Darabiyar Mandir, Srinagar
98.	2.11.91	2 houses	Janki Nath Bhatt & D.N. Raina	Chinkral Mohalla, Srinagar
99.	2/3.11.91	2 houses	Minority Community	Sallar Anantnag
100.	6.11.91	2 houses	Hindus	Srinagar
101	7/8.11.91	House	Nand Lal s/o Madhav Lal	D.H. Pora Anantaga
102.	11.11.91	6 houses	Hindus	Sheshyar, Babbakadal, Srinagar

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
103.	10/11.11.91	4 houses	Hindu Community	Seerjagir, Sopore
104.	11/12.11.91	House	Avtar Krishan Kaul	Qamerwari, Srinagar
105.	12.11.91	3 houses	Hindu	Banna Mohalla and Bemina Housing Colony, Srinagar
106	14.11.91	Temple	—	Srinagar
107.	14.11.91	House	Nand Lal Razdan	Danawari, Chattabal
108.	14/15.11.91	House	Vinod Kumar	Bemina Housing Colony Srinagar
109.	15.11.91	House	Rajinder Kumar	-do-
110	18/19.11.91	Window Damage	Sanjay Sharma s/o Prithvi Nath Pal	Srinagar
111	20/21.11.91	House	Tika Lal	Mohalla Jadeed, Baramulla
112.	20/21.11.91	3 houses	Prem Kumar Kishoori Lal s/o Charan Dass	Kupwara
113.	21/22.11.91	3 houses	Badri Nath Bakaya Mohan Lal Saraf, Ashok Kumar Daroo	Malla Pora (M.R. Gunj)
114.	24.11.91	House	Nath jee Kaul s/o Lalla Jee Kaul	Srinagar
115.	26.11.91	House	Moti Lal Raina	Gole Market, Karan Nagar, Srinagar
116.	26,11,91	House	Amar Nath Kaul	Sheel Tengh Habba Kadal, Srinagar
117.	26/27.11.91	House	Sat Lal Bakshi s/o Tika Lal	Zewan Aripora, Srinagar
118.	25.11.91	House	Jia Lal	Naid Mohalla, Bijbehara Anantnag

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
119.	27.11.91	8 houses	—	Chota Bazar, Kani Kadal Srinagar
120.	29.11.91	House	Prem Nath Bhatt	Mahjoor Nagar, Srinagar
121.	28.11.91	House	Makhan Lal Sazawal	Wazir Bagh, Srinagar
122.	30.11.91	3 houses	Roshan Lal Bhan Jawahar Lal Raina	
123	30.11.91	3 houses	Jia Lal Sazawal	Kharyar, Ganpatyar, Wazir Bagh, Srinagar
124	28/29.11.91	7 houses	Poshkar Nath, Son-in-law of Shadi Lal, Brij Lal s/o Jia lal, Janki Nath s/o Jia Lal, Ram Chand Raina s/o Sona Raina, Jawa Lal s/o Thakur Dass, Poshkar Nath s/o Daya Ram	Rrisal, Kulgam, Anantnag
125.	30.11.91	8 houses Kothar 4 cowsheds Ricemill Shed	—	Dadi Marg, Dainapur, Pulwama, Srinagar
126.	1/2.12..91	3 houses 5 cowsheds 4 kothars	Saith Ram S/o Suresh. Badri Nath s/p Raj Nath, Samboo Nath s/o Raj Nath, Niranjan Nath Son-in-Law of Mahan Lal, Radha Krishan s/o Kashi Nath. Mohan Lal Son-in-law of Nand Lal.	
127.	3.12.91	Houses	Dwarka Nath Lala	Ikhrajpora, Srinagar

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
128.	3.12.91	Houses	Balbader Nath s/o Niranjan Nath	Frisal, Anantnag
129.	6.12.91	House	Dwarka Nath Lala	Ikharajpora, Jawahar Nagar Srinagar
130.	4/5.12.91	2 houses	Gopi Nath and Ved Lal	Lalu Sheshi Gari Bagh, Budgam
131.	7.12.91	House	Mrs Prem Nath	Wazir-Kocha, Barbarshah, Srinagar
132.	8.12.91	House	Omkar Nath Saraf	Gund Ahalmar P.S. Karal Khund, Srinagar
133.	6/7.12.91	4 houses	Pandit Madan Lal, Pandit Prithvi Nath, Shambhu Nath, Avtar Kishan	V. Delina, Baramulla
134.	9/10.12.91	2 houses	Dan Wati widow of Ram Chand Shri Kanth	R/O Hakura, Budgam Distt. Anantnag
135.	10/11.12.91	6 houses	Minority Community	Chogal Pora, Anantnag
136.	13.12.91	House	Shamboo Nath Munshi and Ram Chand	Chinkrae, Mohalla, Srinagar
137.	15.12.91	2 houses	Moti Lal B/o Baljee	Mohalla Batpora, Distt. Baramulla
138.	17.12.91	House	P.N. Muckoo	Mursoo Padshahi Bagh
139.	17.12.91	House	Jawahar Lal Taploo s/o Neel Kanth Taploo	Shaheed Gunj, Srinagar
140.	21.12.91	House	Radha Krishan	Chantan, Sopore, Distt. Baramulla

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
141.	22/23.12.91	House	Brij Nath Zutshi	Dobiwan, Distt. Baramulla
142.	26.12.91	House	Omkar Nath	Azad Basti
143.	26.12.91	2 houses	Hira Lal and Mr. Chandrey	Ganpatyar Kralkhud Distt. Srinagar
144.	27.12.91	2 houses	Srikanth Cheru Kashi Nath Cheru	Jogilankar, Srinagar
145.	26/27.12.91	House	Brij Nath s/o Prakash Nath	Khanabal Distt. Kupwara
146.	28.12.91	House	Soom Nath Wantoo	Kharyar, Habba Kadal, Srinagar
147.	28/29.12.91	House	Smt. Lakshmi Dhar w/o Late D.P. Dhar	Check No. 1, Dangerpora Distt. Srinagar
148.	31.12.91	2 houses	Dr. M.K. Mam, K.L. Bhatt M.K. Kaul	Bagh-i-Mehtab Distt. Srinagar.

1992

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
1.	1.1.92	3 rooms of upper story of building	Hindu	Magharmal Bagh, Srinagar
2.	6.1.92	House	Roshan Lal	M.R. Ganj, Srinagar
3.	-do-	5 houses	Jagar Nath Nehru, Prem Nath Roshan Lal Koul Amar Nath Mahaldar & Gopi Nath	Chanpora, Srinagar
4.	7.1.92	House	Partap Chand Roshan Lal	Urdu Bazar
5.	12.1992	House	Dwarika Nath Katroo	Safa Kadal, Srinagar
6.	13.1.92	4 houses	Deena Nath, Tej Krishan, Radha Krishan, Nand Lal	Chinkral Mohall, Habba Kadal Srinagar

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
7.	13.1.92	2 houses	Janki Nath Makhan Lal, Chaman Lal	-do-
8.	13.1.92	House	Former Judge Late M.K. Ganjoo	Goal Market, Karan Nagar, Srinagar
9.	13.1.1992	House	Nirmal Kaul	-do-
10.	12.1.1992	Raghu Nath Mandir	Mandir	-do-
11.	16.1.92	House	C.L.Raina, Hirday Nath Raina, Jawahar Lal Raina.	Chinar Colony, Baghat, Srinagar
12.	18.1.92	House	Jawahar Lal Raina s/o Deena Nath Raina	-do-
13.	21/22.1.92	3 houses 2 kothas Cowshed	Hindu Property	Bata Gund, Handwara, Distt Kupwara
14.	28/29.1.92	House	Poshkar Nath Khazanchi	Sathoo Barber Shah, Srinagar.
15.	30/314.1.92	House	Vesh Nath	Lal Chowk, Anantnag.
	-do-	Shop	Balzri Shan	
16.	2.2.92	House	Hari Ram	Chinkral Mohalla, Srinagar.
17.	2.2.92	House	Moti Lal	Chinkral Mohalla, Srinagar.
18.	3.2.92	House	Bhooshan Lal Wali s/o Badri Nath Wali	Mandir Bagh, Srinagar

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
19.	3/4.2.92	2 houses	Radha Krishan Gash, Lal and Som Nath	Vill Bona Gam, Doru, Distt Anantnag
20.	5.2.92	House	Saroop Chand and others	Chanpora, Srinagar
21.	3/4.2.92	House	Brij Nath, Om Kar Nath, Chaman Lal s/o Gopi Nath	Kheram Distt, Anantnag.
22.	-do-	House	Som Nath Thakur s/o Lakhsman Nath	Sangam, Anantnag.
23.	5/6.2.92	House	Amar Nath s/o Shirji	Kheram Distt, Anantnag
24.	6/7.2.92	Houses	Radha Krishan S/o Sunder Ram, Vijay Kumar s/o Gopi Nath	Vill Palpora Distt, Pulwama
25.	8.2.92	House	Janki Nath Raina	New Colony Sopore, Baramulla
26.	9.2.92	House	Migrant Pandit	Rajauri Kadal, Kawdara, Srinagar
27.	10.2.92	House	Bansi Lal Rawal	Chinkral Mohalla, Srinagar
28.	-do-	House	ManMohan Kaul	Bud Shah Nagar, Mahboob Colony, Srinagar
29.	11.2.92	House	Girdhari Lal Thusoo	Sheshyar, Habba Kadal, Srinagar
30.	-do-	House	Deena Nath Munshi	-do-
31.	13.2.92	House	Dr. Prem Nath Safaya	Sheetal Nath, Srinagar
32.	-do-	3 houses	Brij Nath Raina, Jagar Nath Bardroo Jawahar Lal	-do-

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
33.	14/15.2.92	House	Amar Nath s/o Shirji Raina	Salia, Aishmuqam Distt, Anantnag
34.	15.16.2.92	Cinema Hall Netraj		Kishtwar Distt. Doda
35.	15.2.92	House	Makhan Lal s/o Shridhar Bhatt	Arigam, Budgam
36.	15.16.2.92	House	Late Dwarka Nath s/o Lamboodar Nath	Mohalla Bejibehla
37.	19.2.92	House	Baljee	Chanpora, Habba Kadal, Srinagar
38.	-do-	3 houses	Hindus	-do-
39.	22.2.92	3 houses	Hindus	New Colony Sopore Baramulla
40.	28.2.92	Hosue	Mohan Lal Sumbli s/o Thakur Ji Sumbli	Ganpatiyar, Habba, Kadal, Srinagar
41.	-do-	4 houses	Hindus	-do-
42.	28.2.92	Houses	Badrinath Jed and Vaidya Nath Jed s/o Madhav Nath	Jed Mohalla Anantnag
43.	2/3.3.92	3 houses two Cowsheds, one Kothar	Hindus	Wachi Distt Pulwama
44.	3/4.3.92	2 houses one Kother	Nath Ram and Roshan Lal	Bejibehara Distt Anantnag
45.	5/6..3.92	House	Manmohar, Hopa s/o Prem Nath	Chinar Colony Baghat, Srinagar
46.	-do-	2 houses	Jawahar Lal Saraj and Jankinath	Sangri Barmulla
47.	5/6.3.92	Houses	Muna Reshi, Saiba Reshi and Pandit Posa Reshi	Sogm Distt Kupwara

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
48.	6/7.3.92	House	Sardar Sheetal Singh Dy SP	Vill Shalkoti Distt. Baramulla
49.	9.3.92	House	R.K. Handno	Chadnpura Maduia Colony, Srinagar
50.	-do-	Hosue	Makhan Lal Zutshi	Shashiyar Habba Kadal, Srinagar
51.	-do-	3 houses	Hindus	-do-
52.	11.3.92	House	Shamboo Nath Bhatt	Kursoo Raj Bagh, Srinagar
53.	14.3.92	House	Jagdish Chopra	Gup Kar Road, Srinagar
54.	16/17.3.92	House	Manjeet Singh s/o Balwant Singh	Nazuk Mohalla Anatnag
55.	18.3.92	House	Badri Nath	Ari Bagh Bagat Kanipora, Srinagar
56.	17/18.3.92	House	Jaggar Nath s/o Mana Bhatt	Lev Doora, Anantnag.
57.	18/19.3.92	House	Sri Kaul s/o Sunder Kaul	Vesu Distt. Anantnag.
58.	21.3.92	5 houses	Minority Community	Wanbal, Rawalpora, Srinagar
59.	23/24.3.92	House	Lassa Kaul s/o Muka Kaul	Rangar Chadoora, Budgam.
60.	2.4.92	House	Deena Nath	Mumkak Mohalla Sopore Distt. Barmulla
61.	5/6.4.92	5 houses	Minority Community	Syed Ali Akhara Srinagar

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
62.	-do-	House	Deena Nath Padroo	Khardori, Mohalla Shala Kadal, Srinagar
63.	12.4.92	House	Lamboodar Zutshi	Chinkral Mohalla Habba Kadal, Srinagar
64.	12.4.92	House	Moti Lal Kaul s/o Gana Kaul	Gankhan, Srinagar
65.	13.4.92	House	Ganesh Kaul	Barzulla, Srinagar
66.	16.4.92	House	Bansi Lal Kashkari	Friends Coloney Bhagat-e-Barzulla
67.	20.4.92	5 houses	Minority Community	Purshay Habba Kadal
68.	21.4.92	5 houses	Minority Community	Karfali Mohalla
69.	15/16.4.92	House	Brij Nath Dass	Autipura Sopore, Baramulla
70.	28.4.92	House	Migrant Pandit	Chinar Coloney, Barzulla
71.	29.4.92	4 houses	Minority Community	Srinagar
72.	28/29.4.92	Kuthar	Makhan Lal	Yachkot Budgam
73.	1.5.92	House	Minority Community	Kanlik Bagh, Baramulla
74.	2.5.92	4 houses	-do-	Karalkhud & Chhota Bazar, Srinagar.
75.	4.5.92	2 houses	R.K. Langoo & Ashok Kumar	Shallayar & Fateh Kadal, Srinagar
76.	5.5.92	2 houses	Dr. O.N. Koul M.K.Dhar	Karan Nagar, Srinagr
77.	6.5.92	House	Jaggar Nath	Ramhalla, Mattan, Anantnag

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
78.	7.5.92	House	Gopi Nath	Tangwari, Baramulla
79.	10.5.92	House	Avtar Chand	Shaheedgunj, Srinagar
80	14/15.5.92	House	Minority	Kralkhud, Srinagar
81.	14/15.5.92	2 houses	Shyam Lal Shiban Lal Moza	Kralkhud, Srinaga
82.	14/15.5.92	House	Jawahar Lal S/o Radha Krishan	Sallayar, Anantnag
83.	21/22.5.92	House Cowshed	Som Nath	Chakoti, Budgam
84.	24/25.5.92	House	Jawahar Lal Bhatt	Bhagat-e-Barzulla, Srinagar
85.	30/31.5.92	2 houses	Jaggar Nath Ratan Lal	Hawal, Pulwama
86.	2.6.92	House	S.K. Raina, Advocate	Balgarden, Srinagar
87.	4.6.92	House	Dr. Hira Lal Dhar	Rawalpora, Srinagar
88.	15.6.92	2 houses	Prem Nath & Vesh Nath Khazanchi	Sathu, Barbarshah, Srinagar
89.	14/15.6.92	House	Dwarka Nath S/o Sarwar	Wadipora, Kupwara
90.	16.6.92	House	Chunni Lal Pandit	Daldoo, Kokernag, Anantnag
91.	17.6.92	House	A.K. Raina	Chandpora, Harwan, Srinagar
92.	27.6.92	4 houses	Minority Community	Sankhan, Srinagar
93.	30.6.92	2 houses	-do-	Naqashpora, Srinagar
94.	29/30.6.92	2 houses	-do-	Handwara
95.	1.7.92	4 houses	-do-	Babarshah, Srinagar

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
96.	3.7.92	3 houses	-do-	Naqashpora & Jawahar Nagar, Srinagar
97.	3/4.7.92	3 houses	-do-	Utrazab, Anantnag
98.	5.7.92	House	-do-	Barbrshah, Srinagar
99.	8.7.92	House	-do-	Lal Nagar, Chanpora, Srinagar
100.	9.7.92	5 houses	Minority Community	Malik-Angam, Fatehadal, Rawalpora, Srinagar
101.	11.7.92	House	Nand Lal Zaroo	Rajbagh, Srinagar
102.	13.7.92	House	J.N. Raina	Rajbagh, Srinagar
103.	12/13.7.92	6 houses	Minority Community	Motiyar, Rainawari, Srinagar
104.	14.7.92	2 houses	-do-	Panditpora, Rainawari, Srinagar
105.	17.7.92	House	O.N. Dhar	Jawahar Nagar, Srinagar
106.	17.7.92	2 houses	Minority Community	-do-
107.	17/18.7.92	House	Som Nath Kharoo	Nar-Paristan, Fatehkadal Srinagar
108.	18.7.92	4 houses	Minority Community	Jawahar Nagar & Karan Nagar, Srinagar
109.	19/20.7.92	2 houses	-do-	Rajbagh, Srinagar
110.	21.7.92	2 houses	-do-	Jawahar Nagar & Nishat, Srinagar
111.	20.7.92	2 houses	-do-	Karan Nagar & Rajbagh, Srinagar

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
112.	20.7.92	House	Piarey Lal	Jawahar Nagar, Srinagar
113.	23.7.92	4 houses	Minority Community	Wazirbagh & Mahzoor Nagar, Srinagar
114.	24.7.92	3 houses	-do-	Rajbagh, Srinagar
115.	25.7.92	2 houses	-do-	-do-
116.	26.7.92	House	-do-	Chinar Colony, Srinagar
117.	27.7.92	4 houses	-do-	Rajbagh,Barzulla. Chhota Bazar, Srinagar
118.	28.7.92	House	-do	Bulbul Bagh Barzulla, Srinagar
119.	28.7.92	House	Triloki Nath	Wazirbagh, Srinagar
120.	29.7.92	3 houses	Minority Community	Rajbagh, Jawahar Nagar & Rawalpora, Srinagar
121.	30.7.92	House	-do-	Chinar Colony, Srinagar.
122.	30.7.92	2 houses	-do-	Chinar Colony & Bulbul Bazar, Srinagar.
123.	31.7.92	House	Minority Community	Rajbagh Srinagar
124.	1.8.92	House	-do	Barzulla Srinagar
125.	2/1.8.92	2 houses	-do	Bal Garden and Jawahar Nagar, Srinagar
126.	2.8.92	4 houses	-do	Rajpora & Baghat Barzulla Srinagar

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
127.	3.8.92	2 houses	-do	Chanpora, Ram Bagh, Srinagar
128.	3.8.92	Houses Cowshed	-do	Chanpora, Harwan, Srinagar
129.	7.8.92	2 houses	-do-	Azad Basti, Natipora, Karan Nagar, Srinagar
130.	8.8.92	-do-	-do-	Motiyar, Rainawari, Srinagar
131.	-do-	2 houses	-do-	Batpora, Baramulla
132.	9.8.92	House	Dr. Badri Nath	Rustum Colony Rajbagh, Srinagar
133.	10.8.92	House	Minority Community	Rajbagh, Srinagar
134.	10/11.8.92	House	M.L. Bhat	Mahajoor Nagar, Srinagar
135.	11.8.92	House	Minority Community	Jawahar nagar, Srinagar
136.	14/15.8.92	7 houses	-do-	Nar Paristan, Srinagar
137.	14.8.92	House	-do-	Kanlibagh, Baramulla
138.	15.8.92	2 houses	-do-	Bal Garden and Sonwar, Srinagar
139.	19.8..92	2 houses	-do-	Kanth Paristan, Safakadal, Srinagar
140.	21.8.92	2 houses	-do	Noorbagh, Srinagar
141	22.8.92	House	-do	Bal Garden, Srinagar

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
142.	22.8.92	12 houses	-do	Sangrampora, Sopore, Baramulla
143.	23.8.92	House	Madan Lal Mantoo	Azad Nagar, Natipora, Srinagar
144.	25.8.92	House	Prem Nath Langoo	Azad Basti, Srinagar
145.	26.8.92	House	Hira Lal Kaul	Bagh-e-Sunder, Chatabal, Srinagar
146.	27.8.92	House	Kanya Lal	Rajbagh, Srinagar
147.	28.8.92	House	T.N. Kaul	Azad Basti, Srinagar
148.	28/29.8.92	House	Prem Nath	Janglaat Mandi Anantnag
149.	31.8.92	House	Vinood Kumar	Nadir-Gund, Budgam
150.	31.8.92	House	Prithavi Nath Ganjoo	Noorbagh, Baramulla
151.	2/3.9.92	House Store	Prem Nath Ganjoo	Sona masjid Karfali Mohalla, Srinagar
152.	2.9.92	House	Bhushan Lal	Baramulla
153	5.9.92	House	T.N. Kaul	Gupkar Road, Srinagar
154.	3/4.9.92	4 houses	Minority Community	Hanjan, Anantnag
155.	5.9.92	House	Kashor Nath Patwari	Barbarshah, Srinagar
156.	6/7.9.92	4 houses	Minority Community	Nagashpora, Srinagar
157.	13.9.92	House	J.N. Dhar	Azad Basti, Natipora, Srinagar
158.	15.9.92	House	Anil Mumar	Karfali Mohalla, Srinagar

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
159.	16.9.92	House	Triloki Nath Kashoo	Sanat Nagar, Srinagar
160.	17.9.92	House	Dr. Deena Nath Kashoo	-do-
161.	18.9.92	House	Janki Nath Tikoo	Parreypora, Sanat Nagar, Srinagar
162.	19.9.92	House	Kashav Nath Gour s/o Kailash Nath	Sathu Babarshah, Srinagar
163.	20.9.92	House	V.S. Jain	Rajbagh, Srinagar
164.	26.9.92	8 houses	Minority Community	Sona Masjid, Srinagar
165.	29.9.92	House	Gopi Nath	New Colony, Sopore, Baramulla
166.	1/2.10.92	House	Dr. Shivaji Dhar	Shah Mohalla, Nawab Bazar, Srinagar
167.	4/5.10.92	2 houses	P.N. Kaul, Bimla Koul	Gupkar Road, Nishat, Srinagar
168.	5.10.92	House	Premji S/o Shivji	Sakidaffer, Srinagar
169.	9.10.92	2 houses	Radha Krishan Raina, Jiya Lal Raina	Shitalna, Srinagar
170.	13/14.10.92	House	Ved Lal Kashoo	Raj Bagh, Srinagar
171.	15.10.92	4 houses	Moti Lal Avtar Krishan Som Nath Gopi Nath	Kanlibagh Baramulla
172.	15.10.92	House	Minority Community	Gulshan Nagar, Srinagar
173.	18.10.92	House	Kishanji Sharma	Sheetalnath, Srinagar
174.	20.10.92	House	Minority Community	Chota Bazar, Srinagar

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
175.	21.10.92	2 houses	Prithvi Nath & Dwarika Nath	Azadhan Kocha (Bagyas), Srinagar
176.	25.10.92	House	Dwarika Nath Kakroo	Ganpatyar, Srinagar
177.	26.10.92	House	Hira Lal Vanzhoo	Gund Ahlimar, Nai Sarak, Srinagar
178.	28.10.92	House	Sat Lal Gadoo	Karalkhud, Srinagar
179.	-do-	Shop	Ashok Kumar	Bhaderwah (Doda)
180.	30.10.92	House	Dr. Rajni Dhar	Magermal Bagh, Srinagar
181.	28/29.10.92	House	Prithvi Nath	Batapora, Shopian Pulwama
183.	31.10.92	2 houses	Mattan Singh Panja Singh	Tanghal, Kulgam, Anantnag
184.	1.11.92	House	A.N. Thusoo	Magarmal Bagh, Srinagar
185.	5.11.92	8 Shops	Minority Community	Anantnag Town
186.	11.11.92	3 houses	-do-	Razdhan Kocha, Bhan Mohalla, Srinagar
187.	12.11.92	House	Kanya Lal	Bidder, Kokernag Anantnag
188.	15.11.92	House	Jaggar Nath	Kulpora, Srinagar
189.	21/22.11.92	House	Niranjan Nath	Dadikadal, Srinagar
190.	23.11.92	4 houses	Shambhu Nath Bangoo, Jagar Nath T.N. Thaasoo, J.N. Sumbli	Ganpatyar, Badyar, Jawahar Nagar and Kaksarai, Srinagar
191.	-do-	4 houses	Minority Community	Nauk Mohalla, Anantnag

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
192.	24.11.92	3 houses	Kuldeep, Ram Chand, Bitta Kachroo, Prem Nath & Nand Lal	Kralkhud, Srinagar
193.	24.11.92	5 houses	Minority Community	Posh Mohalla, Anantnag
194.	25.11.92	2 houses	-do-	Chandpora, Kakasarai, Srinagar
195.	26.11.92	7 House	Amar Nath	Kakasarai, Srinagar
196.	24/25.11.92	4 houses	Minority Community	Verinag, Anantnag
197.	29.11.92	House	Sapambar Nath	Baramulla
198.	-do-	House	Jagtar Singh	Panzla, Baramulla
199.	5.12.92	3 houses	Mehraj Krishan Som Nath	Nazuk Mohalla Anatnag.
200.	7.12.92	House	Moti Lal Gula	Vecharnag, Srinagar
201.	8.12.92	House	Dr. Jawahar Lal Jad	Karan Nagar, Srinagar
202.	9.12.92	2 houses	Govind Kaul, Moli Lal Fotedar	Kavan Nagar Parreypora, Baramulla, Srinagar
203.	9/10/12.92	-do-	Maheshwar Nath Narain Dass	Tregam, Kupwara
204.	11.12.92	3 houses	Sambhoo Nath Miyan, & Kashi Nath & Durabji Wanchoo	Kocha-Nidhan, Rainawari & Natipora, Srinagar
205.	10/11.12.92	6 house	Minority Community	Batapura, Shopian Pulwana
206.	-do-	2 houses	Radha Krishan	Mirhama Bejbehara, Anantnag
207.	11.12.92	22 houses	Brij Nath Pandit & Swaroop Nath	Baramulla

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
208.	11/12.12.92	House kuthar	Damodar & Badri Nath	Bidder, Anantnag
209.	13.12.92	House	M.L. Lahori	Rajbagh, Srinagar
210.	-do-	House	Minority Community	Devsar, Kulgam, Anantnag
211.	12/13.12.92	2 houses	Tika Lal Kaniya Lal	Ajas, Bandipora, Baramulla
212.	13/14.12.92	2 houses	Piarey Lal Amar Nath Pandita	Mugam, Bajibehar, Anantnag
213.	14/15.12.92	House	Prem Nath	Hardoo, Chaman Rafibabal, Baramulla
214.	15/16.12.92	2 houses	Jawahar Lal Ramesh Chander	Pachalpora, Salia Anantnag
215.	16.12.92	House	Radha Krishan	Chandil, Wanigam, Baramulla
216.	16/17.12.92	2 houses	Ved Lal Pandit Ashok Pandit	Nunar, Ganderbal, Srinagar
217.	17.12.92	-do-	Shiban Nath Kaul Bhusan Lal Wali	Karan Nagar, Srinagar
218.	17.12.92	House	Master Prithvi Nath	Kanlibagh Baramulla
219.	21.12.92	House	Amar Nath Munshi	Gole Market, Karan Nagar, Srinagar
220.	-do-	House	Satish Kumar Ghatta	Sherwani Colony, Khawaja Bagh, Baramulla
221.	22.12.92	House	Girdhari Lal Sumbli	Jawahar Nagar Srinagar

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
222.	21/22.12.92	Shop Cowshed	Sara Nand Jaggar Nath	Chowgam, Anantnag
223.	22.12.92	2 houses	Pushkar Nath Ramesh Kaul	Sangrama, Sopore Khawaja Bagh, Baramulla
224.	22/23.12.92	House	Badri Nath	Khiran, Anantnag
225.	24.12.92	2 houses	Shem Lal Tej Krishan	Jamia Quaeen, Sopore, Baramulla
226.	25.12.92	House	Omkar Nath Munshi	Chanapora, Srinagar
227.	27.12.92	5 houses	Triloki Nath Zadoo, Janardhan Raina, Kashi Nath Zadoo, R.L. Zadoo, T.N. Zadoo	Gund-e-Ahlimar, Nai Sarak, Kralkhud Srinagar
228.	28.12.92	3 houses	Makhan Lal Kaul	Chinar Colony, Srinagar
229.	28/29.12.92	House	P.N. Jalali	Jawahar Nagar, Srinagar
230.	28.12.92	House	Prithvi Nath Shalla	Batpora, Sangrampora Sopore Baramulla
231.	29/30.12.92	House	Jia Lal Kalposh	Chinkral Mohalla, Srinagar

1993

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
1.	1.1.93	3 houses	Migrant Pandits	Parreypora, barzulla, Srinagar
2.	-do-	House	J.K. Mangloo	Jawahar Nagar, Srinagar
3.	2.1.93	3 houses	P.N. Shangloo R.L. Mishri	Jawahar Nagar, Srinagar Chinar Colony, Srinagar
4.	4.1.93	House	P.C. Ganjoo	Rajbagh, Srinagar

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
5.	5.1.93	House	D.P. Dhar	Bhagat-e-Barzula, Srinagar
6.	9.1.93	House	P.L. Kapoor	Rajbagh, Srinagar
7.	9.1.93	House	Omkar Nath Kakroo	Dedgam
8.	11.1.93	3 houses	Jia Lal, Chaman Lal, Jaggar Nath	Waskura, Srinagar
9.	12.1.93	House	Harday Nath	Damdullah, Kalgam
10.	15.1.93	House	B.S. Chopra	Jawahar Nagar Srinagar
11.	18.1.93	3 houses	S.K. Kaul P.N. Ganjoo Kashi Nath Revo	Gund-e-Ahilimar, Habba Kadal, Srinagar
12.	19.1.93	House	Migrant Pandit	Shivapora Srinagar
13.	18.1.93	House	Mohan Lal	Patehpur, Baramulla
14.	19.1.93	2 houses	Shyam Lal Makhan Lal	Qazigund, Anantnag
15.	20.1.93	House	T.N. Kaul	Raj Bagh, Srinagar
16.	21.1.93	2 houses	Triloki Nath Makhan Lal	Khawaja Bagh Baramulla
17.	25.1.93	4 houses	Migrant Pandits	Srinagar
18.	26.1.93	3 houses	-do-	-do-
19.	NB 27/28.1.93	House	Tej Krishan	Pulwama
20.	-do-	House	Nand Lal	Vesu, Anantnag
21.	29.1.93	10 houses	Minority Community	Habba Kadal, Srinagar
22.	29.1.93	2 houses	-do-	Baram-Kunzer, Tangmarg Baramulla
23.	31.1.93	5 houses	-do-	Srinagar city
24.	3.2.93	Populatary Farm	Amar Nath	Noor Bagh, Baramulla
25.	5.2.93	2 House	Minorty Community	Srinagar City

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
26.	6/7.2.93	Shop House	Jaspal Singh Dwarika Nath	Nanak Bhawan Baramulla
27.	7/8.2.93	4 houses	Minority Community	Sirinoo, Pulwama
28.	8.2.93	House	Brij Nath Kaul	Budgam
29.	-do-	2 houses	Minority Community	Rainawari and Jawahar Nagar, Srinagar
30.	7/8.2.93	Ornaments and all Property	Master Narain Kumar Roshan Lal Krishan Lal	Lasil, Doda
31.	10/11.2.93	2 houses	Minority Community	Kakasarai, Srinagar
32.	-do-	House	Anant Ram	Pochal, Kishatwar (Doda)
33.	11.2.93	3 houses	Minority Community	Srinagar
34.	12.2.93	4 houses	-do-	-do-
35.	15.2.93	House	-do-	Wanabal, Srinagar
36.	9.2.93	1 House	Chaman Lal Koul	Rawalpora, Srinagar.
37.	11.2.93	3 Houses	Minority Community	Srinagar.
38.	15.2.93	2 Houses	-do-	-do-
39.	20.2.93	1 House	Hindu	Gauripora, Srinagar.
40.	22.2.93	4 Storeyed building	Niranjan Nath Jad Moti Lal Prithvi Raj	At Nazuk Mohalla Anantnag.
41.	25.2.93	3 Houses	Minority Community	Mit Danter, Anatnag.
42.	26.2.93	1 House	Gophal Krishan Mehra	Zainakote Srinagar.
43.	27.2.93	1 House	Ashok Kumar Maza	Rawalpora, Srinagar.
44.	-do-	-do-	R.K. Bhan	Drusoo, Pulwama.
45.	28.2.93	-do-	Chaman Lal Koal	Kakasarai, Srinagar.

S.N.	Date of incident	Property damaged/burnt	Name of Hindu owner	Place of incident
46.	27.2.93	1 Cowshed 1 Kuthar	Pushkar Nath	Bidder, Kokernag Anatnag.
47.	2.3.93	1 House	V.P. Chopra	Rajbagh, Srinagar.
48.	1/2.3.93	-do-	Dev Raj s/o Zindu Ram	Hangal-Gund Anatnag
49.	2.3.93	1 House	Niranjan Nath	Anantnag
50.	4.3.93	2 Houses	Minority Community	Karan Nagar, Narshinghgarh, Srinagar.
51.	3/4.3.93	1 Factory	Mohinder Nath Ravi Koul	Industrial Estate Zainakote, Srinagar.
52.	7/8.3.93	9 Houses	Minority Community	Hakarpora, Hathmula Kupawara.
53.	9.3.93	1 Oil Mill	Migrant Pandit	Zakoora, Srinagar.

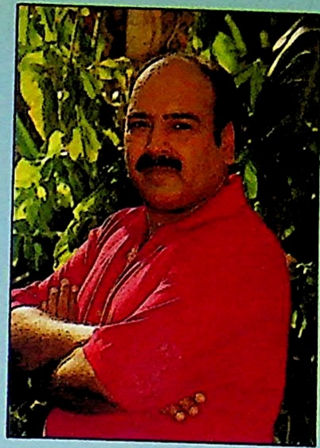
Index

Index

(J)

(K)

(Z)



Anil Maheshwari was born in 1949. He obtained a Master's degree in History and went on to earn a Bachelor's degree in Journalism from Panjab University.

A widely travelled man, he extensively covered the Valley of Kashmir from June 1989 to May 1990 — the period when all hell broke loose.

He is the Principal Correspondent of *The Hindustan Times* and specialises in covering terrorist activities and communal riots that frequently fissure the social fabric of North India. He served *The Hindustan Times* at Meerut, Lucknow, Chandigarh, Jammu and Jaipur.

He is now posted at Delhi and lives in Ghaziabad with his wife and two sons.

A Rupa HARDBACK

Rs. 195 ISBN 81-7167-157-8

Cover design — Romi Chakraborty

